

Young People: The Experience of Transition from Custody to Community

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17th June 2013

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the Doctorate of Clinical Psychology
University of Liverpool

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| List of Illustrations | 6 |
| List of Appendices | 7 |
| THESIS OVERVIEW | 8 |
| References | 12 |
| CHAPTER 1: SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW | 14 |
| Abstract | 15 |
| Background | 16 |
| Method | 20 |
| Scoping Search | 20 |
| Eligibility Criteria | 22 |
| Search Terms | 23 |
| Search Strategy | 23 |
| Screening and Hand-searching | 24 |
| Results | 27 |
| Description of included studies | 27 |
| Quality Assessment | 27 |
| Table 3: Summary of papers and Quality Assessment of Review Papers (based on Pilnick & Swift, 2010) | 29 |
| Narrative Synthesis | 32 |
| Summary of the literature findings | 32 |
| Dimensions that influence transition | 33 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Barriers to re-entry for adults | 33 |
| Dimensions for successful re-entry in adults..... | 34 |
| Developmental differences in re-entry | 35 |
| Dimensions for successful re-entry in young people..... | 37 |
| Differences in U.S and U.K research with young people..... | 38 |
| Methodological Limitations | 38 |
| Methodologies/ Approaches | 39 |
| Ethical Considerations | 40 |
| Discussion | 41 |
| Limitations of the literature..... | 42 |
| A lack of psychological understanding of transition | 42 |
| Difficulties in applying U.S literature to the U.K transition experience | 43 |
| Assessing Quality | 44 |
| Implications for Practice | 44 |
| Implications for Research..... | 45 |
| Conclusions | 45 |
| Declarations of Interest | 46 |
| References..... | 47 |
| CHAPTER 2: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH..... | 53 |
| Abstract | 54 |
| Background | 55 |
| Method | 58 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Epistemology: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) | 58 |
| Procedure..... | 58 |
| Participants | 58 |
| Data Collection | 60 |
| Data Analysis and Interpretation..... | 60 |
| <i>The induction to prison:</i> | 63 |
| Discussion | 70 |
| Findings in relation to the literature | 70 |
| Implications for policy and practice | 71 |
| References..... | 74 |
| CHAPTER 3: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION | 82 |
| General Overview | 83 |
| Summary of the Research | 83 |
| Themes relating to the Literature | 84 |
| Reflexivity..... | 89 |
| Methodological Considerations..... | 90 |
| Clinical Implications and Recommendations..... | 94 |
| Conclusion..... | 98 |
| Lay Summary for Young People | 99 |
| Future Research | 105 |
| Acknowledgements..... | 110 |
| References..... | 111 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Smith, J., Flowers, P., Larkin, M. (2007). <i>Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research</i> . London. Sage. | 117 |
| Smith, J., Flowers, P., Larkin, M. (2009). <i>Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research</i> . London. Sage. | 117 |
| APPENDICES | 119 |

WORD COUNT: 21,263

List of Illustrations

Chapter 1: Systematic Literature review

| | <u>Page</u> |
|-----------------|---|
| Table 1 | Scoping search terms considered for use in PsycINFO |
| | p. 20 |
| Table 2 | Eligibility Criteria |
| | p. 22 |
| Table 3 | Summary of papers and quality assessment of review papers |
| | p. 28-30 |
| Figure 1 | Flow of Information through the Different Phases of the Systematic Review |
| | p. 25 |

Chapter 2: Empirical Research

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Table 1 | Sample Demographics | p. 58 |
| Table 2 | Cluster Table example | p. 60 |

Chapter 3: Concluding Discussion

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Figure 1 | Lay Summary Leaflet | p. 102-103 |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Reasons for exclusion (titles and abstracts)

Appendix B: Staff Information Sheet

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

Appendix E: Sample of a transcript (exploratory comments & initial themes)

Appendix F: A 'cluster theme' table for participant 1 (initial themes & emerging themes)

Appendix G: A 'cluster theme' table (subordinate themes across participants)

Appendix H: Master Table of themes (Superordinate themes)

THESIS OVERVIEW

The following three chapters aim to explore the process of individual transition from prison to the community. In the United States of America (U.S) the transition from prison to the community is called re-entry. The term describes the process of leaving prison and returning to the community. Re-entry is not a form of supervision or legal status and all prisoners, other than those who never leave prison, experience re-entry. The body of research addressing offender re-entry in the U.S has been steadily increasing over the last ten years (Arditti & Parkman, 2011; Petersilia & Travis, 2001; Visher & Travis, 2003).

Much of the early literature focused on recidivism in adults (Langan & Levin, 2002; Tracy & Kempf-Leonard, 1996) but there has been an increase in attention on longitudinal studies that aim to understand the processes involved in reintegration. This research addresses individual change in relation to desistance in the U.S (Bushway et al., 2001; Laub & Sampson, 2001). There is less research on adult re-entry in the United Kingdom (U.K) possibly due to lower rates of imprisonment compared to the U.S. Differences between the U.S and U.K justice systems mean it is difficult to generalise research findings relating to individual experience across continents. Only a handful of studies focus on young people's re-entry in the U.K (Meek, 2007; Barry, 2010; Champion & Clare, 2006) and there is none that tries to understand the experience of transition from juvenile custodial services to community youth justice services for young people.

The following three chapters aim to contribute to this area of research. Each of the chapters is presented as a standalone component that adds to this shared area of research. The three components summarised below are as follows: firstly a systematic review of all the current published research aims to understand the experience of re-entry for all age-groups; secondly

a qualitative empirical paper explores the meaning and impact of transition for young people; finally a concluding discussion extends the dialogue about the empirical research findings. It also provides a lay summary of the empirical study for young people and presents a future research proposal which would extend the empirical research.

Chapter 1 presents a systematic review addressing the question: what is the experience of transition from custody to community for young people? Due to the limited research exploring young people's re-entry, literature addressing the adult re-entry experience was included in this review. After initial scoping of several research databases, three were searched following PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews) statement guidelines (Moher et al., 2009). A total of 835 studies were initially retrieved, of which 10 articles met the inclusion criteria. A narrative synthesis of their findings is presented. The literature suggests several common themes that are important in understanding the meaning and impact of transition from custody to the community. These include social components, such as accommodation and interpersonal relationships and psychological components, such as identity and coping skills. The literature acknowledges that there are differences between adults and young people experiencing re-entry, possibly related to developmental stages (Abrams, 2007; Arditti & Parkman, 2011). This may have implications for services offering support for young people and requires further research. This systematic review has been written in accordance with submission guidelines for publication in the journal of 'Psychology, Crime and Law'.

Chapter 2 extends the research discussed in the systematic review and contributes to the literature concerning young people's experience of re-entry. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to explore how young people made sense of their individual

transition experience from custody to the community. Findings demonstrate five superordinate themes that are important in the transition. These are: '*A beginning and ending to prison*', '*Family and friendship systems of offending*', '*A new 'me' in the community*', '*Life on the out*' and '*Justice system supporting and enforcing change*'. Findings are consistent with and extend the current literature on young people's experience of transition from custody to the community. Clinical implications tentatively indicate that the continuity in care provision, family and peer relationships and Licence conditions of release all impact on the transition experience for young people. These dimensions may be useful in considering service development. This empirical paper has been written in accordance with submission guidelines for publication in the journal of 'Legal and Criminological Psychology'.

Chapter 3 provides an extended concluding discussion, providing a detailed discussion of the empirical findings and how they are relevant to theory, research and practice. A short lay summary of the empirical paper is also presented. This is for the benefit of young people making the transition from custody to community. Given that previous research indicates that this group of people is often marginalised (Barry, 2010); it was considered ethically responsible to develop a summary that was accessible and validating of young people's experience. Therefore, a version is also presented in a short leaflet and a podcast recording of the summary aims to improve accessibility of the information for people with a range of literacy abilities. The podcast recording will not be published on-line until the empirical research has been published. The end of this chapter presents a proposal for future research, based on the empirical paper's extended discussion and conclusions.

In contributing to the research on young people's experience of re-entry in the U.K, it is hoped that the meaning and impact of transition for this often marginalised group of people will be acknowledged.

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CHAPTER 1: SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a systematic review of the available literature that has explored the meaning and impact of transition from custody to community for young people. The paper is presented in the format expected for publication in the 'Psychology, Crime and Law' journal. The abstract is followed by a study of the background which grounds this study within current, relevant, governmental policy, providing a rationale for reviewing the literature. A detailed description of the systematic method, used to search and retrieve the relevant literature follows. The results section presents a narrative synthesis of the ten articles retrieved and discusses their findings. A quality assessment of each of the papers provides a framework for further critique of their methodological approaches. The discussion section briefly summarises the review's objectives and findings, identifying areas for further research development in this field.

Abstract

Purpose: To explore the meaning and impact of transition from custodial services to community justice services for young people, using a systematic review of the wider literature.

Background: Re-offending rates in the United Kingdom (U.K) are high for both adults and young people, suggesting the justice system has difficulties in improving desistance after release from prison. Despite this, limited research aims to understand the re-entry experience for adults and young people in the U.K. There has been more research in this field in the United States of America (U.S). A systematic review of the wider literature available aims to collate the limited research available. The objective is to understand the experience of re-entry for adults and young people, in the U.S and U.K in order to provide a basis for understanding the re-entry experience for young people in the U.K.

Methods: A systematic review of the literature, following PRISMA statement guidelines, identified studies that report themes relevant to understanding the experience of transition from custody to community. PsycINFO, SCOPUS and NCJRS databases were searched up to the 19th November 2012.

Results: A total of 835 studies were retrieved, of which 10 articles met the inclusion criteria and were reviewed. A summary of their findings is presented.

Conclusions: Findings suggest several common social and psychological themes across the literature. There is a lack of literature based in the U.K which addresses the transition/ re-entry process. There are differences between adults and young people in the transition experience, possibly related to developmental stages. This may have implications for services offering support for young people and requires further research.

Key Words: transition, custody, community, re-entry

Background

On 22 June 2012 the prison population in England and Wales was 85,697; this had nearly doubled from the 44,628 recorded in 1992-3. An increasing prison population seems inevitable considering the high reconviction rates in the U.K (Ministry of Justice, 2013). In adults 47% of those who are released from custody are reconvicted within one year. In young people, aged between ten and seventeen, 69% of those that were released from custody in the year ending June 2010, re-offended within a year (Prison Reform Trust, 2012). Statistics such as these suggest that the justice system in England and Wales appears to have difficulties in reducing re-offending. Policy aimed at reducing reoffending and improving rehabilitation (Ministry of Justice, 2013. p1) has recently announced an intention to ‘get tough’ on crime but also to ‘support’ people in desisting from crime in the future. Despite such policy, the issue of re-entry has received little research attention in the U.K, relative to other countries.

Much of the relevant literature comes from the United States (U.S) where incarceration figures are higher than in the U.K. In December 2010, the U.S had the highest documented incarceration rate in the world, at 730 per 100,000 population (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2010). U.S based literature uses the term ‘prisoner re-entry’ to describe the process of leaving prison and moving back in to community. Historically U.S research has focused mainly on reducing recidivism as their reconviction rates are high (Agnew, 2005; Bahr, 2005; Fagan, 1989). Literature that focuses on recidivism typically aims to identify factors that may predict re-offending (Visher & Travis, 2003). It does not attend to the process by which the individual continues to be involved with crime and how this affects their reintegration in to the community. Laub & Sampson (2001) addressed the importance of focussing on desistance in research. They demonstrated that promoting the development of new social networks and new social roles during re-entry have an influence on reducing re-offending. Since then, there

has been a steady increase in research that attends to desistance from anti-social behaviour (Laub & Sampson, 2001; La Vigne, Visser & Castro, 2004). Many studies of desistance acknowledge biological and psychological processes associated with getting older that might influence the desistance process (Arnett, 1998). Other dimensions that may be equally influential include: individual characteristics, family relationships, community contexts and state policies (Visser & Travis, 2003). These dimensions acknowledge both individual and systemic processes involved in re-entry. Other researchers have placed more importance on the significance of developmental age on desistance.

Altschuler and Brash (2004) and McCord, Widom and Crowell (2001) have attempted to address the differences in adult and young people's re-entry. According to Altschuler and Brash (2004), young people in re-entry make the environmental transition from imprisonment to the community alongside the developmental transition from childhood to adulthood. They suggest that this means young people have additional needs compared to adults during re-entry. Uggen and Wakefield (2005) propose that young people's experience of re-entry is made more difficult because young people also need to concentrate on remaining drug-free, avoiding peers who offend and learning to face adult responsibilities such as financial independence. However, the U.S and the U.K justice systems are different. Therefore, it may be that the dimensions that influence young people's re-entry in the U.S will be different to those that influence young people's re-entry in the U.K. In order to achieve the U.K government's aims to reducing reoffending rates in all age groups, more research is needed to understand the dimensions that influence desistance for young people in the U.K.

So far very few researchers have addressed the re-entry experience for young people in the U.K (Meek, 2007; Champion & Clare, 2006). Findings by Barry (2010) are in line with those

in the U.S that acknowledge the additional needs of young people during re-entry. Barry (2010) further proposes that relationships with family/ caregivers that promote trust and respect are central in making the developmental transition from childhood to adulthood. However, these findings represent pioneering developments in this limited area of research in the U.K. However, despite the limited research, the numbers of young people entering the justice system has dropped by 45% over the last ten years. Community sentences based on intensive supervision and Multi-Systemic Therapy (MST) (Borduin et al., 1995; Henggeler et al., 1998) in rehabilitation programmes have been 10% more effective in reducing re-offending rates than custodial sentencing. This seems like a promising trend. However, recent government policy has emphasised a ‘get tough’ approach to community based ‘punishments’ (Ministry of Justice, 2013). This appears to be at odds with the success of the rehabilitation-focussed programmes. Limited U.K based research exploring young people’s re-entry, means there is a limited evidence base on which to endorse a ‘punishment’ based approach.

It is acknowledged in this review that the re-entry experience for young people in the U.K is likely to differ considerably to that of adults or other young people in the U.S. However, in an attempt to capture the range of potential dimensions that may influence re-entry for young people in the U.K, it was considered appropriate to review the available literature across age groups and cultures. The following review discusses findings from across the literature base that focuses on understanding the experience of re-entry. To increase its relevance to current experiences, research published in the last twenty years was searched using relevant, electronic databases. A narrative synthesis of the relevant literature available discusses the dimensions that may influence re-entry in general and relates their potential relevance to young people in the U.K. Grounded in this literature available, areas for future research are

suggested. Based on this objective, the following question was addressed: What is the experience of transition from custodial justice to community justice services?

Method

Scoping Search

A scoping literature search determined the extent to which this area of research had been previously explored. It also informed the search strategy for the final electronic literature searches. This scoping search was carried out in October 2012, using the database PsycINFO. This database was chosen because it was considered that psychological research might be the most relevant in understanding individual ‘experience’. It was also hoped that psychological literature might incorporate Bridges’ (2004) understanding of ‘transition’ highlighting the importance of the psychological processes that accompany situational and environmental change.

Inclusion criteria were as follows: those articles published since 1/01/1992, written in English that had been peer reviewed. Peer review was considered important, to ensure quality of the research which meant that dissertations were excluded from this review. As this is an area of predominantly qualitative research, initially studies with only qualitative methodology were considered. Finally, due to the limited research in this area studies with both male and female participants of all ages were considered. Search terms were defined by the review question and subject headings of relevant articles influenced the development of the search strategy.

As a result of the scoping search, only 3 papers were retrieved. It was considered that this limited number of articles might not capture the whole of the literature base in this area. Therefore, a new search strategy was established and piloted. The revised strategy removed many of the exclusion criteria leaving only: English language, published within the last twenty years and peer review. The revised strategy incorporated key phrases found in the

literature in the search terms (for example ‘re-entry’). Screening parameters were widened to include all research methodologies and men and women of all age groups. Table 1 outlines the procedure of refining the search terms. Initial search terms related directly to the area of interest, including a focus on young people.

Table 1: Scoping search terms considered for use in PsycINFO

| Scoping search attempts | Search terms used | Number of papers retrieved |
|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Stage 1 | You* AND Prison AND Transition | 23 |
| Stage 2 | Prison AND Transition | 161 |
| Stage 3 | Re-entry AND You* AND Prison AND Transition | 46 |
| Stage 4 | Re-entry AND Prison AND Transition | 47 |

The scoping search retrieved 277 articles from PsycINFO. Following exclusion for duplication, 265 of these were screened for eligibility, resulting in exclusion of 176 articles. The remaining 89 titles and abstracts were screened resulting in 9 relevant articles. At this point, a member of the research team with considerable expertise in this field of study was consulted. They were able to confirm that the articles represented a balance of specificity and sensitivity for relevant evidence that could not be improved by further screening. The reviewer was able to begin applying the scoping search criteria to more databases across the relevant disciplines of sociology and criminology.

Six databases were initially included in the full search, PsycINFO, Scopus, National Criminal Justice Research Service (NCJRS), Web of Knowledge (WoK), Sociofile and The Cochrane Library. Medline (also popular in health literature) was not used because literature relating to psychiatric difficulties/ diagnoses was considered limiting in generating an understanding of

the transition experience in the wider offender population. Thus, the search terms and screening criteria were employed across the six databases. As a result, WoK, Sociofile and The Cochrane Library failed to generate any further relevant articles. Therefore, PsycINFO, Scopus and the NCJRS databases were considered sufficient to retrieve all relevant articles. PsycINFO was chosen because it was expected to have the largest contribution of psychologically based relevant literature relating to the 'experience' of transition. Scopus was chosen because this is an area of research that has received more attention within sociology than psychology (Visher & Travis, 2003). Also, after release, young people are often required to engage with social-care organisations (Youth Offending Service) and therefore, sociological research was considered equally relevant. Finally, the NCJRS was chosen because criminal justice literature seemed of uppermost importance in understanding the experience of offender transition.

Eligibility Criteria

This review focuses on research that was written in the English language and includes both qualitative and quantitative studies, published from 1/01/1992 which intended to explore the current experience of transition for men and women of all ages, as they move from custody to community. Only research that was peer reviewed was included, in order to maintain the quality of studies reviewed. Research with a focus on evaluation of a prison based intervention or treatment programme was discounted because their findings were considered more likely to attend to outcomes of recidivism, rather than addressing the experience of transition, which is the focus of this review. Table 2 presents the Eligibility Criteria used to include and exclude research articles.

Table 2: Eligibility Criteria

| Inclusion Criteria | Exclusion Criteria |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• English Language• Published within the last twenty years (since 1992)• Peer Reviewed• All methodologies• All ages• Both men and women | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Non-English language• Published before 1992• Non-peer reviewed• Non-offender perspective• Evaluation of prison programs |

Search Terms

After a period of refining in the scoping search, the following search terms were used: (You* AND Prison AND Transition) OR (Prison AND Transition) OR (Re-entry AND Prison AND Transition) OR (Re-entry AND You* AND Prison AND Transition). It was hoped that this broad approach would capture all relevant literature available and the inclusion and exclusion criteria stated in Table 2 were applied. Titles (and abstracts where necessary) were then visually scanned to identify studies related to the experience of transition.

Search Strategy

A comprehensive electronic search was carried out between 4th and 19th November 2012. Three databases were searched according to the search terms described above. These were: PsycINFO, Scopus and the NCJRS. Each database required minor adaptations, specific to their vocabulary or search terms. A comprehensive search was conducted to determine the body of literature relevant to the review question across all literature sources relating to the experience of transition from custody to community. The search was divided in to two components, firstly an electronic search of three relevant psychological, sociological and

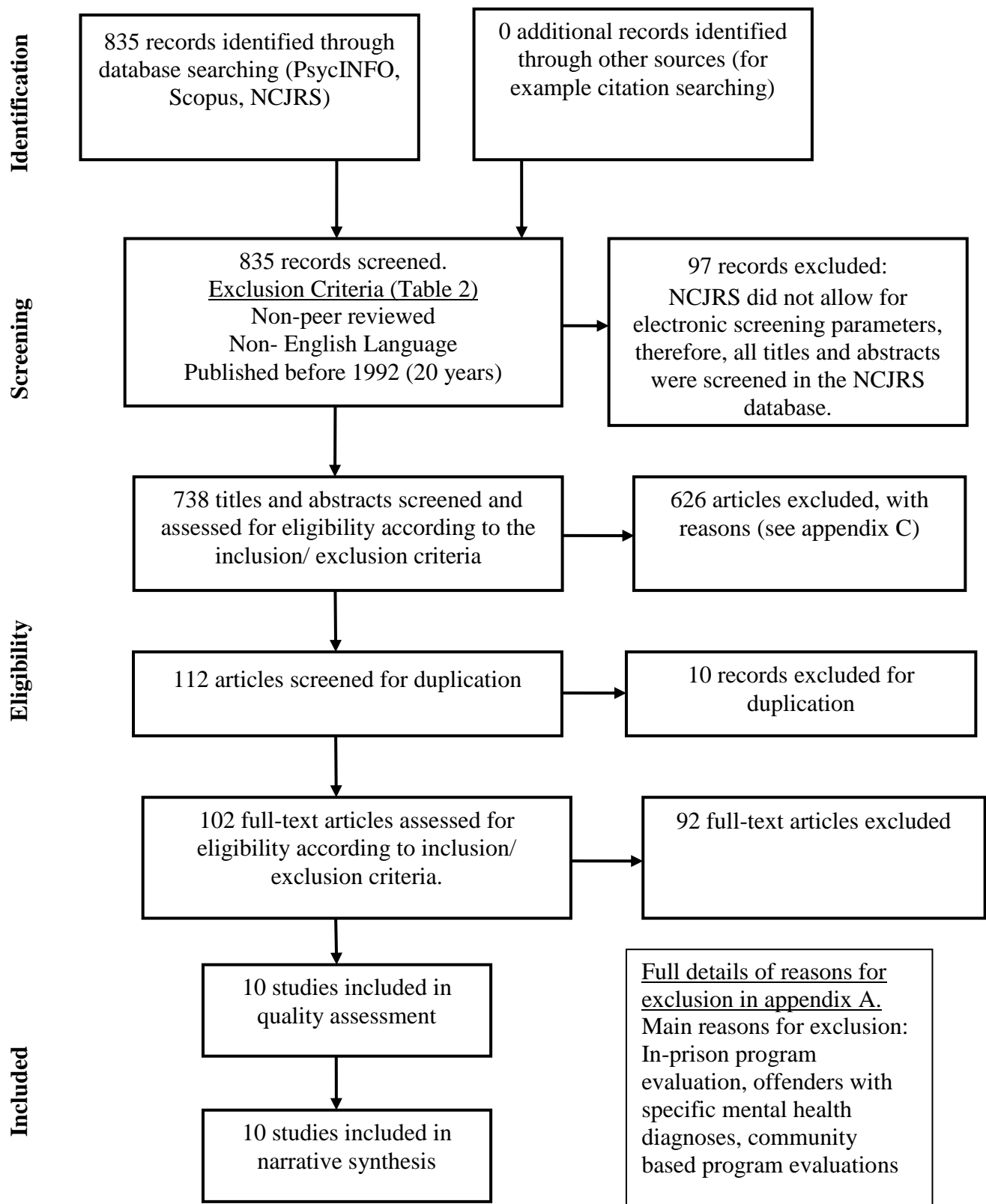
criminal justice databases. Alerts were set up on all databases so new literature published after the search would be captured. Secondly, an expansion of this initial search included citation, index and author searches to complete a thorough search. Finally, one researcher whose full, published article was unavailable electronically and considered influential, was contacted via email for her paper. PsycINFO records were substituted for duplicated records from other databases when identified because of their high level detail and standardisation. In addition, manual searches of the Clinical Psychology Forum (British Psychological Society) and the Child and Family Social Work Journal were made between 24th and 31st November 2012.

Screening and Hand-searching

A total of 835 articles were retrieved. Only original research articles were included in the search, essays and editorials were not included. The process for retrieving relevant articles was divided in to two parts. Firstly, the reviewer screened all articles using the inclusion and exclusion criteria to eliminate studies which did not relate to the experience of transition from custody to community. For example, a number of articles focussed on the transition *into custody* as opposed to *out of custody* and these were excluded. Discrepancies were discussed with the research team and a decision over whether to include/ exclude was reached. This resulted in 738 studies for which titles and abstracts were screened for eligibility (626 excluded) and duplication (10 excluded). The second stage of the process involved the reviewer scanning the remaining 102 full text articles, followed by a search of their reference lists which did not yield any articles not already found in electronic database searching. The 102 articles were reviewed and 92 excluded, seeking consensus from the research team when opinion for suitability was required. From this 10 studies were identified as appropriate for inclusion in the review process.

It cannot be assumed that all relevant, high quality published material was successfully obtained through electronic and hand searching of journals selected. However, knowledge of the field of research into the transition from custody to community, together with monitoring of the evidence base has led to the conclusion that this review encompasses as much published material as possible to answer the review question, based on the best available evidence, using a systematic process of elimination. The flow of literature is reported using The PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews) Statement diagram (Moher, et al., 2009). This is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Flow of Information through the Different Phases of the Systematic Review



Results

Description of included studies

A summary of the ten papers can be found in Table 3 (page 27-29). The studies were carried out in the U.K and the U.S within the last eleven years. All studies were used qualitative methodology to explore the experience of re-entry with their participants. Five articles concern young people under eighteen and five adults. Two focus on women, the remaining eight on men. Four studies collected data prior to and post release, therefore capturing the anticipation of transition, as well as the actual, current experience of transition. The remaining six studies sought to capture the actual, current experience of transition (post-release).

Quality Assessment

A quality assessment of the ten papers can also be found in Table 3 (page 28-30). Qualitative studies and methods are widely used in healthcare research. However, in some cases there is discussion concerning its value because it can be difficult to determine what is less rigorous qualitative research from research that is 'good' (Pilnick & Swift, 2010). Swift & Tischler (2010) argue that conventional measures of reliability, generalisability and validity, assessed in quantitative research are not appropriate for qualitative research. This is because qualitative research produces one of a number of possible viewpoints that has been constructed in the process of research. Mays and Pope (2000) recognise that qualitative research can be assessed for quality by using criteria which are operationalised differently from those used in assessing quantitative research. Various published assessment checklists offer criteria for assessing the quality of qualitative research (Blaxter, 1996; Malteraud, 2001; Schou & Hostrup, 2011; Secker et al., 1995). However, because of the variety of epistemologies underpinning the ten

studies retrieved in this review, the quality checklist applied here needed to be flexible enough to be applied across them all. Pilnick & Swift (2010) have proposed a set of broad criteria intended to be used as accommodating guidelines for both the reader and author of research, to assess the quality of qualitative research. Their guidelines focus on five areas. These guidelines were applied in assessing the quality of the ten studies retrieved.

The first of the guidelines that was applied across the studies explored the '*clarity of methods of data collection and analysis*'. This involved assessing whether each author had reported adequate information about their data collection methods and analysis and provided an explanation about why the data was collected and analysed in this way. Secondly, the papers were assessed according to their '*reflexivity*'. This required each author to have demonstrated an awareness of their own impact on the research setting, as well as on their interpretation of the data. It also involved assessing the author's recognition that the participants behaved as they did, precisely because they were purposefully involved in the research context. Thirdly, the papers were assessed on how they dealt with '*negative cases*' which involves attending to participant views that went against the prevailing viewpoint. For example, were direct quotes provided from participants who had opposing views to that of the consensus? Considering why that individual participant did not fit the consensus was considered essential in demonstrating a rigorous method (Pilnick & Swift, 2010). Fourthly, '*fair dealing*' was applied to each paper to assess whether participants were managed with an 'even-hand' and not one participant's opinion valued more than another. Finally, each paper's '*worth and value*' was judged on how it extended the existing knowledge about the area of study. It should be noted that the usefulness of comparing the quality of these studies is limited, as they vary in their area of study (e.g. sociological/ psychological/ criminal justice) and epistemological standpoints.

Table 3: Summary of papers and Quality Assessment of Review Papers (based on Pilnick & Swift, 2010)

| Summary of papers | | | | | | Quality Assessment (Pilnick & Swift, 2010) | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|
| Author | Sample | Methodology/ data collection | Method of Analysis | Aim | Findings | Clarity of methods of data collection | Reflexivity | Dealing with negative cases | Fair Dealing | Worth or Value |
| Meek (2007) | 1 x male (adult) | Single case study, semi- structured interview (pre & post release) | IPA | Explore the experience of young gypsy- traveller during re-entry | Culture, Identity, Negative attitudes (from community, police) are important influences on desistance. | Epistemology outlined, methodology described. Analysis supported with direct quotes. | Clear acknowledgeme nt of impact of interpretation on findings | N/A due to methodology | N/A due to methodology | Implications of research for probation and prison service discussed |
| Champion & Clare (2006) | 16 x male (pre- release) 11 x male (post release) (Young people) | Semi-structured interviews (pre & post release) | TPA | Investigate expectations and experiences of young male offenders adjusting to release from YOI | Four over-arching themes: 'reflecting & re- evaluating', 'reconnecting', 'changing' and 'locating the experience' | Epistemology outlined. Analysis supported with direct quotes. Potentially biased sample due to selection process | Clear acknowledgeme nt of impact of interpretation on findings | Acknowledgem ent of individual differences in experience | Attendance to all participants cases regardless of viewpoint. | Tentative model for adjustment to release proposed. This provides direction for future research |
| Inderbitzen (2009) | 5 x male (young people) | Observational fieldwork notes plus un- structured, conversation with sample (pre & post release) | NA | Demonstrate the perceptions of participants from end-of-the-line maximum, juvenile correctional facility to the community | Pre-release: Hopes and fears for release. Post- release: New people/ services to rely on, Hard coping with new independence and emerging adulthood. | Subjective, mixed methods of data collection, relying solely on interpretation of researcher | No acknowledgeme nt of the relationship developed with participants and the impact this may have on data collection | Low number of participants helps describe individual experience, without false generalising | Use of staff in interviews may have de-valued individual experience of pre-release themes | Conclusions demonstrate achievement of aims. Practical clinical implications are lacking |

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|---|---|---|-----|---|--|---|---|--|---|--|
| Shivy, Wu, Moon & Mann (2007) | 6 male (adult) 9 female (adult) | 2 x focus groups (one male / one female) post-release | CQR | Understand the challenges of re-entering the workforce from prison for ex-offenders and how they inter-relate | Eleven domains identified encompassing offender's needs. | Clear methodology described but validity is questioned, as data collection was by staff currently working with participants | Little acknowledgement of the close relationship with participants in data collection | Categorising responses to provide 'domains' may have ignored inconsistencies in responses. No declaration of this. | Staff may have been biased in their confirmation of themes because they were working directly with participants | Clear identification of domains provides clear factors for service improvement. |
| Eahr, Harker-Armstrong, Guild Gibbs, Harris & Fisher (2005) | 51 male (adult) 19 parole officers (adult) | Structured, one-to-one interviews and un-structured interviews (post-release) | MM | Understand the variables associated with re-incarceration following release from prison | Re-incarceration was associated with 4 domains. Overall family relationships were very important in re-entry | Structured methodology. Standardised interview assessment tools. Statistical analysis described | Attempt at objective research by quantifying data | Some responses from the minority may have been missed. This is not identified. | Staff were involved in the interview process, so assumption of fair dealing can be made. | Conclusions appear to meet objectives and provides one specific domain for service improvement |
| Arditti & Parkman (2011) | 9 male (young people) | Semi-structured interviews (post-release) | IPA | Life-Course perspective on the transition to adulthood, within the context of their return to community following incarceration | Re-entry is a developmental paradox, Dependency on family is counter to self-definitions of manhood | Epistemological stance outlined and methodology described. Analysis clearly supported with direct quotes | Analysis was mindful of individual interpretation and attempt to regulate analysis was made | Acknowledgement of individual differences in experience | Attendance to all participants cases regardless of viewpoint. | Implications for service improvement and further research are specific |
| Abrams (2007) | 10 male (young people) | semi-structured interviews (pre & post release) | TA | Present perspectives on anticipation and actual transition from therapeutic correctional facility to the community. | Old friends and influences are the greatest challenge. Selective involvement with old peers might help avoid old patterns. | Methodology clear described and analysis process outlined | Little acknowledgement of the effect of repeat interviews on familiarity and 'distance' | Thematic analysis may have ignored some quotes that did not fit in with the themes, these have not been explored | Attendance to all participants cases regardless of viewpoint. | Recommendations address social policy. Future research recommendations are specific. |

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|---|---------------------------------------|---|----|---|---|---|--|--|---|--|
| Panuccio, Christian, Martinez & Sullivan (2012) | 13 male 1 female (young people) | semi-structured interviews, focus groups. Plus descriptive stats. (post-release) | MM | Understand how juveniles released from secure confinement desist from crime and how social support operates at a specific stage of the life course. | Motivation, and reinforcement from social support networks is necessary for successful desistance. | Observational data collection is open to individual interpretation. Analysis of themes is subjective and based on researcher experience | ‘Distance’ was not maintained, as participants were observed closely for a number of weeks. No acknowledgment of this on findings. | Substantial quotes suggest clear script-interpretation links. However, few quotes which highlight those comments which did not ‘fit in’ with conclusions | N/A due to methodology | Demonstrate how they extend previous research |
| O’Brien (2001) | 18 female (adult) | semi-structured interviews (post-release) | CC | Identify women who had ‘successfully negotiated’ transition from prison to community | Themes: Finding shelter, Obtaining employment/ legal income, Reconstructing connections with others, developing community membership, identifying consciousness and confidence in self. | Interviews for data collection were unstructured,. Analysis was subjective, based on researcher experience | Researcher interpretation was not acknowledged | Substantial quotes suggest clear script-interpretation links. However, few quotes which highlight those comments which did not ‘fit in’ with conclusions | N/A due to methodology | Consistency between findings and previous research are highlighted. Suggestions for further research provided. |
| Parsons & Warner-Robins (2012) | 27 female (adult) | semi-structured interviews, Welcome Home Ministries (WHM) faith program. (post-release) | NA | Factors that support WHM women’s successful transition to the community after prison. | 12 major theme categories identified, among which spiritual belief and freedom from addiction were paramount. | Themes identified through listening to tapes and individual interpretation. Little attempt at standardisation of themes. | Interviews carried out in the context of faith group and faith being one of the main ‘themes’ retrieved | No attempt to deal with any responders who may not have given faith as a component in recidivism. | Little evidence that opposing views were investigated | Limitations are discussed demonstrating understanding of some of the potential bias involved in interpretation |

* IPA = Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis; TPA: Thematic Phenomenological Analysis; NA = Narrative Analysis; CQR = Consensual Qualitative Research, MM= Mixed Methods; TA = Thematic Analysis; CC= Constant Comparative Analysis

Narrative Synthesis

A narrative synthesis of the research findings aimed to encapsulate the range of dimensions identified across the studies that might influence the experience of transition from custody to the community. A textual approach to the synthesis aimed to ‘tell the story’ of the combined findings from the included studies (Popay et al., 2006). A brief summary of each of the studies’ main findings is outlined in the following. This is followed by a critical analysis of the dimensions identified that might impact on the transition experience involving an assessment of quality of the research studies (Pilnick & Swift, 2010). Despite the differences in methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the studies, similarities between their findings are identified and discussed. Assessing their strengths and limitations help define conclusions across the literature and provide directions for future research.

Summary of the literature findings

Meek (2007) found that ‘culture’ and ‘identity’ and negative attitudes from the community, were important themes in understanding the transition for an adult, male Gypsy-Traveller. As a result, Meek (2007) called for prison and probation professionals to attend to both sociological and psychological factors during rehabilitation intervention programmes. Champion and Clare (2006) found that ‘reflecting and re-evaluating’, ‘reconnecting’, ‘changing’ and ‘locating the experience’ characterised young people’s adjustment to release. They developed a tentative model of adjustment to release for young people. This incorporated influences from internal and external resources, sentencing characteristics and a psychological process of adjustment that all impact on the experience of release. Shivy et al. (2007) and Bahr et al. (2005) both identified a series of dimensions that influenced adult men during transition from custody to the community. These included: Education & training,

career development support, understanding the system, stress, offender status, substance abuse, aging and spiritual beliefs. Both studies emphasised the importance of a close, social network provided primarily by the family but also other informal support networks.

O'Brien (2001) and Parsons and Warner-Robins (2012) identified that adult women's experience of transition from custody to community was influenced by their individual interpersonal capacity, social resources, spiritual beliefs and abstinence from substances. Both studies propose recommendations that incorporate these factors in to policy and programming in prison and probation services. Abrams (2007) found the influence of peers was of particular importance for young people after release. Panuccio et al. (2012) found that internal motivation to desist from crime was central in young people's re-entry experience. Both studies also found that social support was potentially influential in reinforcing desistance post release. Inderbitzen (2009) findings demonstrated the fear and hope felt by young people during re-entry. This study recognised the challenge of transition for young people. It called for changes to justice policy that reflected the magnitude of this period in a young person's life. Finally, Arditti and Parkman (2011) used a life-course perspective in understanding young people's re-entry experience. They identified the dual processes involved in moving from prison to the community at the same time as moving from childhood to adulthood.

Dimensions that influence transition

Barriers to re-entry for adults

Shivy et al. (2007) highlighted eleven social domains that became barriers to adults making a 'successful' transition from custody to community. By 'successful', the authors meant that participants were able to desist from committing further crime during the re-entry process.

Barriers to making a successful re-entry included: lack of education, lack of training and career development support, lack of understanding social networks and having responsibility for children. Bahr et al. (2005) supported the importance of employment and stable housing on desistance but placed greater importance on close relationships within the family network and the quality of parent-child relationships in reducing the likelihood of a return to crime. Meek (2007) acknowledged the role of social factors in improving desistance, adding that cultural issues, related to violence and masculinity also influenced the experience of transition for Gypsy-Travellers. Meek's (2007) research may have limited generalisability because conclusions were based on the experience of a single case study of a Gypsy-Traveller. O'Brien (2001) and Parsons and Warner-Robbins (2012) adopt a recovery focussed perspective, avoiding a focus on the barriers to successful re-entry emphasised by Bahr et al. (2005) and addressing instead the strengths necessary for successful re-entry.

Dimensions for successful re-entry in adults

O'Brien (2001) and Parsons and Warner-Robbins (2012) also recognised the importance of accommodation and employment as central to successful re-entry. This was consistent with Shivy et al. (2007) and Bahr et al. (2005). Additionally, they emphasised the benefits of good inter-personal relationships, developing community membership and self-confidence as important influences in re-entry. Parsons and Warner- Robbins (2012) found that spirituality was especially influential on women's re-entry experience. However, their participant sample were all members of a spiritual support group called the Welcome Home Ministries (WHM). Interviews took place within the building where the WHM held their weekly meetings. Therefore, finding that spiritual belief was important for their participants is perhaps unsurprising. Participants may have felt obliged or more inclined to mention the influence of their spiritual beliefs when interviewed in this setting.

This review acknowledges that the majority of papers retrieved found a variety of social factors such as: accommodation, education and social support, had a significant influence on participant's re-entry. However, it may be considered that these dimensions are likely to be of particular interest to researchers working in the sociological field. It may be that a development of the psychological literature in this area may both support the sociological findings and generate further recommendations for service development (Champion & Clare, 2006; Meek, 2007).

Developmental differences in re-entry

So far, dimensions that influence adult re-entry have been reviewed. For young people, the dimensions affecting re-entry may be different. Arnett (1998) proposes that this is because at the same time as making the environmental transition between prison and the community, young people additionally negotiate the internal transitions associated with their developmental age. Shanahan (2000) described the transition to adulthood for the general population in the U.S as becoming increasingly uncertain for young people in terms of social roles and the likelihood of gaining employment. If the transition to adulthood is uncertain for the general population, it may be considered substantially more ambiguous for young people who have spent their teenage years in prison (Arnett, 1998; Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). All five papers that explore re-entry in young people (Abrams, 2007; Arditti & Parkman, 2011; Champion & Clare, 2006; Inderbitzen, 2009; Panuccio et al., 2012) recognised the additional demands of transitioning from custody to the community at the same time as developing from childhood to adulthood.

Inderbitzen (2009) suggested that reaching legal adulthood at the time of transition from custody to community presented specific challenges for young people. This was because the internal process of making a psychologically healthy transition from child to adult necessarily involved a period of preparation for the responsibilities and challenges of being an adult. Arnett (1998) identified three criteria for the transition to adulthood which include: accepting responsibility for oneself, financial independence and making independent decisions. Inderbitzen (2009) proposed that young people leaving custody had often been on an 'accelerated path to adulthood' (p. 454) prior to their sentencing. This was because their community environments had encouraged the development of independence early in life. However, being locked up in the restrictive environment of custody stunted further personal growth, meaning that young people lacked the level of independence necessary for successful re-entry.

Inderbitzen's (2009) approach to data collection included field observations and informal conversation with participants and staff. While field observation is an established method of qualitative data collection, it is open to individual interpretation. Inderbitzen (2009) aims to 'give voice to those young aliens' (p. 457) but the researcher's interpretation of the participant's 'voice' should have been acknowledged when interpreting the results. Despite this, these findings are consistent with others (Abrams, 2007; Ardeti & Parkman., 2011; Champion & Clare., 2006; Panuccio et al., 2012). These studies all recognise the additional psychological needs of young people and point out that often services treat young people leaving prison as adult equivalents.

Arditti & Parkman (2011) also demonstrated the contradiction between the social definitions of a 'successful re-entry' and the developmental stage of the young person. For example, the

concept of ‘successful re-entry’ asks young people to live independently (with a job, home, pro-social network) when they are at a developmental stage that does not have the developmental assets and tools necessary to make re-entry a ‘success’. While meaningful employment was important for the participants in their study, it was out of reach for most young ex-offenders (Arditti & Parkman, 2011). All five studies propose the need for further research that explores young people’s psychological needs in re-entry.

Dimensions for successful re-entry in young people

Panuccio et al. (2012) explored psychological processes that may influence young people’s re-entry experience. Findings in their study suggested that young people needed to feel motivated to desist from re-offending, in order to take advantage of other opportunities available to them. Panuccio et al. (2012) found that factors that influenced motivation included: having negative experiences in prison (e.g. secure confinement), having children in the community and close relationships with girlfriends/ partners. Additionally, Abrams (2007) suggested that “old friends and influences” (p. 31) either posed the greatest challenge to desistance or had the potential to support young people in avoiding recidivism. Champion and Clare (2006) suggested that re-entry was influenced by psychological processes involving a re-evaluation of their lives in adjusting to re-entry. Champion and Clare (2006) proposed a tentative model for this adjustment process in transition. It may be considered that developing a model based on their thematic phenomenological analysis of interviews with sixteen participants might be considered premature. However, their model served to provide a basis for future qualitative research exploring the dimensions that affect adjustment to release for young people.

Differences in U.S and U.K research with young people

As previously noted, the studies that addressed young people's re-entry were predominantly based in the U.S. It has been acknowledged in this review that the experience of re-entry in the U.S is likely to be different to that in the U.K. This is because, community re-integration in the U.S is potentially more difficult than in the U.K because of the U.S approach to using sex offender registers, housing restrictions and barriers to gaining employment for ex-offenders. All these dimensions may influence a very different re-entry experience in the U.S compared to the U.K (Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). Despite their relatively punitive approach to offenders during re-entry, similarly to the U.K the numbers of young people in custody in the U.S has fallen by approximately 30% from 107,637 in 1995 to 70,792 in 2013 (Annie Casey Foundation, 2013). However, the U.S still holds a larger proportionate share of its young people in custody than in any other developed country. The U.S is increasingly moving away from other nations in its response to crime (Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). The U.S incarceration rate is five times higher than that of the U.K for all types of crime. Therefore, in reviewing the U.S literature about young people's re-entry, differences between the U.S and U.K patterns of reconviction were considered. In acknowledging this, there is a need for more U.K based research that explores the re-entry experience based in the U.K.

Methodological Limitations

Table 3 (page 28-30) summarises the quality assessment of the ten papers retrieved. Pertinent aspects of their methodologies (including their quality) that might have impacted on the findings are discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Methodologies/ Approaches

In qualitative research, often the epistemological framework influences the study's data collection and findings. Three papers (Arditti & Parkman, 2011; Champion & Clare, 2006; Meek, 2007) adopt a phenomenological approach. Meek (2007) and Arditti and Parkman (2011) pose research aims in line with this epistemology. For example: Meek (2007) aims to 'explore firsthand the experiences of a young man in prison and across the transition back in to the community' (p.134) which is appropriate for an Interpretative Phenomenological epistemological stance. This research aim does not impose a personal perspective or pre-judgement about potential outcomes for the study, demonstrating an attempt at reflexivity. Conversely, Champion and Clare (2006), assume there will be challenges that will affect mental health in the re-entry process before they have collected their data. While this assumption may be accurate, there is potential for bias in developing the interview schedule and analysing data if this conclusion is drawn prior to data collection.

The remaining studies employ a range of other methodologies and data collection tools summarised in Table 3. Semi-structured interviews are predominantly employed (Abrams, 2007; Bahr et al., 2005; Champion & Clare, 2006; Meek, 2007) and less often, focus groups (Shivy et al., 2007). Data was collected at a range of time points across studies. Post-release data collection (Arditti & Parkman, 2011; Bahr et al., 2005; O'Brien, 2001; Parson & Warner- Robbins, 2012; Panuccio et al. 2012; Shivy et al., 2007;) examined the experience of re-entry. Remaining papers (Abrams, 2007; Inderbitzen, 2009; Meek, 2007) collected data at both pre and post release time points; measuring both the anticipation and the actual, current experience of re-entry. In these cases, data collected at different time points might have been analysed separately to generate distinct themes recognising the difference between anticipation of the re-entry experience and the actual re-entry experience. Champion and

Clare (2006) however present four over-arching themes that encompass both time points. This has the potential to lose some validity in their results, in failing to account for differences in anticipation and actual experience of re-entry.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical implications relating to data collection were also considered. Most studies took place either in custody or in statutory meetings at parole centres/ within youth offending services (Arditti & Parkman, 2011; Bahr et al., 2005; Champion & Clare, 2006; Meek, 2007). Participants in these settings may have felt obliged to participate, as they are required by conditions of their release to attend statutory meetings/ parole centres. Champion and Clare (2006) declare that the researcher was not linked to the YOS accessed by their participants, other researchers do not (Meek, 2007; O'Brien, 2001). If the researcher was linked to the YOS, participants may have felt that they should censor their responses, to be socially acceptable to the researcher working within the YOS. Meek (2007) and O'Brien (2001) did not acknowledge if this was the case. According to the Pilnick and Swift (2010) quality assessment guidelines, qualitative findings may be undermined if researchers' do not reflect on their own professional status during interview, in their analysis. Despite ethical and methodological limitations, the different methodologies used in data collection and the variety of sample demographics, findings across the studies demonstrate some similarities. Therefore they may be useful in providing greater understanding of the influences that impact on the transition from custody to community for young people.

Discussion

The ten studies reviewed here represent a growing area of literature exploring the transition from custody to community. There has been an attempt to obtain all relevant information for inclusion. The risk of overlooking relevant research was minimised by title and abstract scanning and obtaining full text articles for those that appeared potentially relevant. In summary, the dimensions that impact on the re-entry process for young people are age-dependent, psychological and social. Inevitably, the dimensions interact and overlap. Dimensions that influence re-entry for people of all ages include: accommodation, employment, close inter-personal relationships (with family and friends), community membership, self-confidence and spirituality (Parsons & Warner-Robins, 2002; O'Brien, 2001). Barriers to 'successful' re-entry, by which researchers mean desistance from crime, include the absence of these dimensions and also inability to recognise stress, inability to come to terms with offender status and a lack of social roles (Shivy et al., 2007; Bahr et al., 2005).

The dimensions that influence re-entry may apply to both adults and young people and services that support re-entry for young people often view them as adult equivalents (Arditti & Parkman, 2011; Inderbitzen, 2009). However, the literature suggests that young people have additional needs during re-entry, to those of adults. These include dimensions such as: motivation for desistance, having a girlfriend or partner, peers involved with crime and having relationships with adults that support desistance (Abrams, 2007; Champion & Clare, 2006; Meek, 2007; Panuccio et al., 2012). Developmental, social and psychological dimensions are not equally distributed across individuals; some young people will have greater access to social support or be more psychologically resilient than others.

Young people in both the U.S and the U.K that experience re-entry are often behind their young people who do not offend in terms of education, employment and behavioural adjustment (Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). Up to 71% of young people in custody had been involved with social services before custody (YJB, 2007). Young people in custody have a limited educational background, with 86% of boys and 82% of girls reporting exclusion from school (Summerfield, 2011). Existing research on the transition to adulthood with young people involved with the justice system proposes that young people's disadvantages build up as they attempt to develop adult roles during re-entry (Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). Therefore, young people leaving custody may be at greater risk of experiencing a negative re-entry process than adults or other young people who have not experienced these disadvantages.

Limitations of the literature

A lack of psychological understanding of transition

Much of the literature addresses tangible dimensions, such as education, social networks, accommodation and employment that influence the experience of re-entry. Emphasis on the importance of these dimensions calls for services to address the practical needs of young people during re-entry. However, social and psychological needs are linked. For example, the need for close and supportive social networks may be related to psychological factors such as self-perception and self-confidence. Therefore, encouraging treatment programmes that have a focus on building self-confidence may have a consequence for the ability to develop new social networks and vice-versa. If this is the case, then further psychologically based research may provide direction for social service development. As yet, understanding the psychological impact of transition from custody to the community for young people in the

U.K remains very limited. The psychological resources needed for a successful transition and clinical recommendations to support these processes during re-entry are required.

The studies retrieved did not acknowledge the potential influence of learning ability and disability on re-entry. In terms of population, 53% of young people in prison have a diagnosis of Dyslexia, compared with the 8% of young people in the populations at large (Hewitt-Main, 2012). None of the studies in this review addressed the effect of poor literacy on re-integration and yet a recent pioneering study at HMP Chelmsford not only identified half the prison population was dyslexic but also found that this group could be successfully reached simply by increasing opportunities for talking and listening with young people. This research demonstrated a drop in reoffending rates after their intervention and may be a useful direction for service development (Hewitt-Main, 2012).

Difficulties in applying U.S literature to the U.K transition experience

Eight out of the ten studies reviewed were based in the U.S and there are limitations inherent in applying U.S based literature to the U.K, due to differences between the justice systems. For example, the U.S takes a more punitive approach in terms of community notification, housing restrictions, sex offender registers and work barriers (Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). However, if there is a move towards a more punitive approach in the U.K, as recent governmental policy suggests (Ministry of Justice, 2013), perhaps U.S based literature will become more applicable to the U.K in the future. In the meantime, developing research that aims to understand the re-entry experience for young people in the U.K might be useful in highlighting re-entry needs.

Assessing Quality

Obtaining a numerical, coherent quality rating for the studies was not possible because the studies employed a range of qualitative methodologies which removed the opportunity for direct comparison of their findings. Therefore, a flexible approach to assessing quality was employed using the guiding framework suggested by Pilnick and Swift (2010). In summary, the quality assessment found that all articles contributed to an increased understanding of the dimensions that might be influential in understanding the experience of re-entry. There was however, a lack of attention to ‘reflexivity’ declared by some of the authors Inderbitzen (2009), Abrams (2007), Panuccio at al., (2007), O’Brien (2001) and Parsons and Warner-Robins (2012).

Implications for Practice

Recommendations for practice to address the needs of young people in the U.K during re-entry, from the research findings are speculative. This is because the studies employed a range of qualitative methodologies and had small sample sizes. In some cases, generalisability to the wider population is not appropriate or intended by the authors (Meek, 2007). However, broad implications for services are as follows: Professionals should recognise the additional needs of young people relative to the needs of adults during re-entry. Promoting desistance in young people may be achieved through increasing positive peer networks, identifying and attending to learning needs and addressing the need for reflective space in which to consider current and future lives. Equally, important is attending to the provision of employment, education, accommodation and financial skills for managing new responsibilities during re-entry. Services may be more effective if their input is tailored to individual need (O’Brien, 2001) and considers individual motivation for desistance (Panuccio

et al., 2012). Developing self-confidence and an understanding of identity post-release may also be beneficial (Meek, 2007; O'Brien, 2001). It is acknowledged that these implications lack detail on specific implications for practice that might improve the re-entry experience for young people in the U.K. However, as this is an area with limited research, broad implications for developing the literature base may be more relevant.

Implications for Research

The literature reviewed here did not attend to learning disabilities in young people which have been found to have substantial impact on re-integration for young people (Hewitt-Main, 2012). Further research might address the experience of accessing community-based services for a young person that has a diagnosis of Dyslexia. While social factors have been a focus for research on the re-entry experience, there is less understanding about the parallel developmental and psychological processes that occur alongside the re-entry process for young people (Bridges, 2004). Future psychological research might focus on understanding the experience of transition from custody to the community for young people in the U.K. From this foundation it might then be possible to develop understanding about the specific dimensions that may influence desistance in the U.K. Developing the evidence base across the field may be necessary before robust recommendations can be suggested to improve the re-entry experience for young people.

Conclusions

The objective of this literature review was to understand the dimensions that influence the experience of transition from custody to the community for young people. To do this,

literature addressing all age groups was considered. Of the ten qualitative research articles retrieved, five addressed young people's re-entry and five addressed adult re-entry. Two studies emphasised the importance of understanding the psychological processes involved in re-entry. Arditti and Parkman (2011) outlined the contradiction between societies expectations of a 'successful re-entry' (to secure employment, a home and financial independence) and the reality of young people's developmental age that prevents them from fulfilling societies expectations. The combined literature has identified a lack of understanding about young people's experience of transition from custody to the community in the U.K.

The reconviction rates for young people in the U.K are high, with 69% of young people re-offending within one year (Prison Reform Trust, 2012). Recent governmental policy has demonstrated its intention to 'get tough' on crime to reduce re-offending and increase its 'support' of desistance (Ministry of Justice, 2013). However limited research exploring the experience of transition from custody to community for young people in the U.K provides little direction for supporting desistance in young people. Therefore, this review has identified a need for the research community in the U.K to aim to understand the re-entry experience for young people in the U.K. This may highlight unmet need and provide direction for service development. Generating greater understanding of the re-entry experience may influence policy-makers attempting to address desistance in the U.K.

Declarations of Interest: *The authors report no conflict of interest in this study. The authors are responsible for the writing and content of this paper.*

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CHAPTER 2: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

This chapter presents the empirical research that aimed to understand the experience of transition from custody to community for young people in the U.K. The paper is presented in the format expected for publication in the 'Legal and Criminological Psychology' journal. The abstract provides an overview of the study which is followed by a short background section that grounds the study in relevant literature and current governmental policy. The background is followed by a detailed description of the method used to collect and interpret the data. It also provides rationale for the theoretical underpinning of the research, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The results section presents the five superordinate themes and subordinate themes which described the participants' experience of transition from custody to the community. Extracts from the data illustrate the main themes. The discussion section briefly summarises the research findings and considers them alongside the literature. Clinical implications and recommendations developed as a result of the study are provided at the end of this chapter.

Abstract

Purpose: To understand young people's experience of transition from juvenile custodial services to community youth justice services.

Background: The number of young people in custody has fallen in the last ten years. This trend is promising but with further cuts to services announced for 2014-2015, further reducing the numbers of young people in custody is a priority. Whilst the literature identifies the negative psychological impact of imprisonment on development, a limited amount of published research explores how young people in the UK transition from custody to the community.

Method: Ten participants (16-18 years), accessing a Youth Offending Service (YOS), took part in semi-structured interviews. Interviews explored the individual experience of transition from custody to the community. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to analyse data.

Results: In understanding the experience of transition, five superordinate themes emerged: *'A beginning and ending to prison'*, *'Family and friendship systems of offending'*, *'A new 'me' in the community'*, *'Life on the out'* and *'Justice System supporting and enforcing change'*.

Conclusions: Results demonstrate the impact of participants' community system on their personal development and relationships after release. Recommendations for services are suggested and study limitations discussed.

Key Words: Young People, Offending, Youth Offending Service, Transition

Background

Over the last twenty years, the prison population in the United Kingdom (U.K) has doubled due to an increase in mandatory policies, sentence lengths and use of prison sentencing instead of fines/ community service. Despite these figures, there has been a 45% decrease in the number of young people in the youth justice system in England and Wales over the last ten years, despite the riots in 2011. These figures offer hope for the future. However, the Ministry of Justice spending review (HM Treasury, 2010) announced savings of 23% to be made by 2014 - 2015. The annual average cost of living in prison in England and Wales in 2010-2011 was £39,573. In making the youth justice system more cost-effective, holding on to the decreasing trend of young people in custody is vital.

The YOS in England and Wales is a statutory service. It aims to support young people in adherence to license conditions of release and to implement treatment programmes that address offending behaviour in the community. The YOS supervises young people during the transition from custody to community. The meaning of transition varies according to the context in which it is used. In health literature, 'transition' describes change in developmental, health or social circumstances (Kralik, Visentin & van Loon, 2005). It applies to changes in environmental circumstances and psychological processes that adapt to change events (Bridges, 2004). Schumacher and Meleis (1994) suggest that successful transition is where distress relating to a change event, is replaced with a sense of mastery and wellbeing. To help people achieve a sense of mastery, they must acquire information (Hilton, 2002), social support networks (Glacken et al., 2002), develop or maintain close emotional relationships with other people (Arman & Rehnsfeldt, 2003) and develop a new, heightened self awareness (Hilton, 2002; Kralik, 2002; Shaul, 1997).

The public perception of ‘delinquency’ highlights the ‘callous nature’ of young people who offend. These images cause the wider population to fear young people, driving policy makers to introduce a punitive response to young people who offend (Feld, 1998). An image of young people not usually advertised is one ‘marked by the accumulation of disadvantage’ (Chung, Little & Steinberg, 2005; p.71), whose difficulties are likely to follow them in to adulthood if left unsupported (Sampson & Laub, 1997). It is well-established that young people who offend are far behind their equivalent non-offending peers in education, family formation, employment and behavioural adjustment (Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). 71% of children in custody have been Looked After or involved with social services before custody (Youth Justice Board, 2007). 25% of children in the youth justice system have identified special educational needs with 46% underachieving at school (Youth Justice Board, 2006).

Young people who develop a stable identity of “criminal” are unlikely to develop the social roles required to assume other adult roles (Uggen, Manza & Behrens, 2003). Thus, the most important step in successful community re-engagement is developing a non-criminal identity (Uggen & Wakefield, 2005). While this process may begin in prison, the society outside prison will influence how former offenders perceive opportunities for legitimate, pro-social life (Maruna, 2001).

Limited research has explored the experience of transition from custody to the community in the UK. In a single case-study of an adult, male, gypsy-traveller, Meek (2007) found themes of culture and identity; negative attitudes from within the community; and a tension between autonomy and social roles relevant. Arditti and Parkman (2011) acknowledge the differences between adult and young people’s experience of transition from custody to the community.

Champion and Clare (2006) explored young people's adjustment to release in the UK. Findings identified four themes that characterised the adjustment process: 'reflecting and re-evaluating', 'reconnecting', 'changing' and 'locating the experience'. However, these authors conducted interviews pre and post release. Inevitably findings incorporated the anticipation of release as well as the adjustment process itself. While these studies contribute to understanding young people's transition from custody to the community in the UK, they do not focus on the lived experience of transition for young people. Thus there is a need for UK-based research to explore young people's experience of transition from custody to the community.

If the current youth justice system is to achieve aims of reducing costs by 2014-2015, then a focus on improving desistance in young people is required (Prison Reform Trust, 2012). Greater understanding of the experience of transition during re-integration may generate areas for service development that provide young people with a viable alternative to offending, creating meaningful lives in the community. The objective for this research was to explore with young people, their experience of transition through a critical lens. Qualitative methodology was considered appropriate to explore this under-researched area. Based on this objective, the following research aim was developed: to understand how young people in the youth justice system experience the transition from custody to the community.

Method

Epistemology: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a qualitative approach to analysis that examines how people make sense of their life experiences (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). IPA's theoretical basis comes from phenomenology that stemmed from Husserl's construct of a philosophical science of consciousness; hermeneutics (the theory of interpretation). IPA proposes that the meanings we ascribe to major events are only accessed via an interpretative process. IPA uses both an empathic hermeneutics in attempting to understand the participants' perspective and a questioning/ critical hermeneutics to interpret what is not said: *"A detailed IPA analysis can involve asking critical questions of the texts from participants... What is the person trying to achieve? Do I have a sense of something going on that maybe the participants themselves are less aware of?"* (Smith & Osbourn, 2007; p.53). IPA is interpretative, in that it considers the engagement of the researcher with the participant's text as a component of the analysis. In contrast to other methods (e.g. discourse analysis) it takes an epistemological stance that assumes it is possible to access a participant's inner world. Consequently it was beneficial for this research because transition involves both external, environmental change and internal, individual psychological process (Bridges, 2004).

Procedure

Participants

Ethical approvals were obtained from the appropriate ethics committee in February 2012 to recruit ten young people accessing a YOS in the North of England. A purposive sample was recruited, using criteria relevant to the research question, not necessarily representative of the whole population of young people in transition (Willig, 2001). A homogeneous sample that met inclusion criteria of being released from custody within the last two months, were invited

to take part. Looked After children were excluded as they were assumed to represent a group in receipt of specific package of care unavailable to those who are not Looked After. After being introduced and provided with information about the study (appendix B), Key Workers identified twelve young people that might want to participate. Participants were provided with information about the research (appendix C) and contacted by the first author. Ten agreed to take part and informed consent to participate was obtained before interviewing. As the client group was considered potentially unfamiliar with interviews of this type, the upper end of the sample size recommended by Smith (2007) ensured a rich quality to the data. Demographics for those included in the sample are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Sample Demographics

| Pseudonym | Age | Ethnicity | Index offence | Length of time spent in prison | Previous experience of prison | Previous experience at YOT |
|-----------|-----|---------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ben | 17 | White British | GBH, robbery | 12 months | No | Yes |
| Duncan | 16 | White British | GBH, Robbery | 12 months | No | Yes |
| David | 17 | White British | Robbery | 12 months | No | Yes |
| Graeme | 16 | White British | Armed Robbery | 11 months | No | Yes |
| Keith | 17 | White British | GBH | 11 months | No | Yes |
| Kevin | 16 | White British | Armed Robbery | 8 months | No | Yes |
| Dean | 16 | White British | GBH | 6 months | No | Yes |
| Tim | 16 | White British | Theft (burglary) / GBH | 6 months | No | Yes |
| John | 16 | White British | Armed Robbery | 6 months | Yes | Yes |
| Paul | 16 | White British | Armed Robbery | 6 months | No | Yes |

Data Collection

A semi-structured interview schedule with open ended questions (appendix D) encouraged participants to reflect on their current experiences of transition. Probe/ prompt questions were used if participants found it hard to articulate a response. Questions were modified to explore themes generated by the participants themselves. Interviews were held in an interview room at the YOS with which all participants were familiar. The timing of each interview was managed according to participant availability and convenience. Length of interview lasted between 47 minutes and 32 minutes. Interviews were audio-recorded on an mp3 file that was stored on an encrypted data stick in a locked draw in the YOS. The first author transcribed the first interview to achieve immersion in the data. An experienced Psychologist within the research team also listened to the recording, exploring initial ideas with the first author. Subsequent interviews were transcribed professionally. Accuracy was confirmed against the recording. Identifying information was removed. Initial analysis immediately after interviews ensured that Emerging Themes could be identified and followed up in subsequent interviews (Smith, 2003; 2007).

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Transcribed interviews were analysed according to the following steps outlined by Smith et al. (1999). Analysis began with initial noting of thoughts during the initial reading of transcripts. Transcripts were line and page numbered and transferred into tables separating the contributions from participant and researcher, providing space for ‘exploratory comments’ and ‘initial themes’ alongside the text. This format allowed Initial Themes to be anchored in specific lines in the text and easily identified. Exploratory Comments summarised the main points of each line and were recorded in the transcription table. Initial

Themes took the analysis to a higher level, pulling out the meaning of the Exploratory Comments relevant to participant's experience of transition (see Appendix E). Initial Themes for each participant were then clustered to form Emerging Themes, forming a 'cluster table' for each participant (Appendix F). At this level of analysis, the first author attempted to “*give greater justice to the totality of the person (by acknowledging) that people struggle to express what they are thinking and feeling...the researcher has to interpret people's mental and emotional state from what they say*” (Smith & Osbourn., 2007; p.54). According to patterns identified across the data set, Emerging Themes for each participant were re-clustered to form sixteen Subordinate Themes, (see Appendix G). Table 2 presents an example of a cluster pattern (see Appendix G for a complete cluster pattern).

Table 2: Example cluster table. Subordinate theme: adapting to life in prison

| Emerging Theme | P1 | P2 | P3 | P4 | P5 | P6 | P7 | P8 | P9 | P10 |
|---|-----------|-----------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Prison and community rewards systems are different | 8, 96-97 | | 7, 1-2 | | | | | | | |
| Prison reward system is based on the giving and taking away possessions | 8, 96-97 | | | | | 9, 176-179 12, 234 | 8,2-3 | 15, 303 | | 23, 408-409 23, 411-412 |
| Changes in social norms in/ out of prison | | | 19, 624 19, 620 19, 618 18, 601 19, 616 18, 612 | | 43, 488 | | | 13, 265 | 18, 304 17, 291-292 34, 644-645 | 27, 498 |

Cluster patterns were then re-clustered to form five larger, Superordinate Themes (see appendix H).

Enhancing Scientific Rigour

The validity of the analytic process was endorsed by introducing ‘credibility checks’ (Elliot, Fischer & Rennie, 1999). Firstly, another member of the research team who was familiar with the YOS and the literature participated in listening to the initial recordings of the interviews. They also read the transcripts and participated in repeated discussion of emerging codes and themes. Secondly, the first author met with peers conducting IPA research in a regular group to further discuss emerging codes and themes.

Results

Analysis of the ten interviews shaped five overlapping superordinate themes and sixteen subordinate themes demonstrating how participants made sense of their transition from custody to the community. Themes were labelled: (1) *A beginning and ending to prison* (2) *Family and friendship systems of offending* (3) *A new 'me' in the community* (4) *Life on the out* (5) *Justice system supporting and enforcing change*. Themes are discussed in detail and supported with representative quotes.

Superordinate theme 1: A beginning and ending to prison

For participants, a significant impact of the transition experience was the contrast between a carefully planned induction to prison, backed by rules promoting integration and the shock of release to the community that was unplanned and provoked anxiety. This superordinate theme is comprised of four sub-themes: the induction to prison, integrating to life in prison, the shock of release, assimilating the experience of prison.

The induction to prison: On entry to prison, participants described a thorough induction process. Duncan recalled assessment of academic ability: "*They give you tests when you're first in, to see where you are for maths and English*" (p.2, line 49). Paul referred to a graded exposure and a leaflet explaining the prison system: "*You get a free visit to the proper prison at first*" and "*they give you like a leaflet to say how to do everything*" (p.21, line 378-380).

Integrating to life in prison: Participants described a well defined prison system, making adapting to prison life feel 'easy', John: "*It's a whole new place and you gotta learn the rules... but once you settle in, it's easy really*" (p.27, line 16-17). Dean describes that good behaviour was rewarded with tangible possessions: "*For being good and that...you get a telly*

and stuff, and your trainers” (p.8, Line 2- 3). Ben described that a display of “*shower-gels*” in his “*pad*” was used as a status symbol. The ease with which he could communicate his status with his display felt “*amazing*” (p. 17, line 221).

The shock of release: Contrasting to the induction to prison, participants recalled feeling shocked when release day arrived. Kevin: “*10 minutes they gave me, bosses come to me pad and said ‘get all your stuff’... So, it was just a shock really, I got out then, in the middle of the day*” (p.37, line 774). There was no equivalent planning for the ending of prison and no induction back in to the community.

Assimilation of the prison experience: In assimilating the experience of prison, participants reflected that prison was ‘not even that bad’, Graeme: “*It’s fine, at first obviously you are a bit scared but it’s not even that bad in there*” (p.16, line 225). Minimising the prison experience may reflect a process of assimilation, making it bearable and less anxiety provoking. Alternatively, remembering prison as ‘not that bad’ may reflect the reality of life in prison was relatively “easy living” (John, p.46, line 882) compared to current life in the community.

Superordinate theme 2: Family and friendship systems of offending

Whilst receiving a custodial sentence was normalised within families and peers, the prison sentence disrupted already limited social connections, accentuating emotional distance in family and friendship systems. This is encapsulated in subordinate themes: Prison is normalised in families and friendships, prison disrupts family and friendships, emotional distance in family and friendship systems.

Prison is normalised in families and friendships: Participants' families and peers were often linked with offending. Prison was a familiar life event for Ben's family and peers: *"My brother went in...He just knows I was going to be all right. He knows I could handle it. He knows I've got plenty of mates in here to hang out with"* (p.25, line 346). Ben inferred his family's assumption that because prison was familiar to them, he would 'handle' it. Implicit in many accounts was the silencing effect of this assumption within families. Dean: *"I don't say anything to dad about it. He never talked about his time (in prison) (p.12, Line 287).*

Prison disrupts family and friendships: Being in prison excluded participants from family celebrations perpetuating their sense of isolation. David: *"Parties... I know I would have been there if I was out, I missed out and was left out on my own"* (p.14, line 307). Maintaining connections with family and friends was difficult because visits were often avoided, John: *"I would have put him on a visiting order but just effort innit. I'd rather just leave it. Not too fussed about visits"* (p.22, Line 389-390). Letters helped maintain some dialogue but were limited in their capacity to sustain closeness. Graeme recalled that despite letters his return home felt 'weird': *"I got letters and that in prison so I knew some stuff (but) the house had been done up....it (was) weird cause it had changed"* (p. 28, line 421-425).

Emotional distance in family and friendship systems: Participants consistently and explicitly described families as 'aright' but their descriptions lacked emotional depth. Paul: *"He's (father) not there for me all the time but say if I wanted something, like a phone or something, I'd say listen, can I have this Dad? ...so like yeah, he helps me out like that"* (p.39-40, line 733-744). Paul's summary of the father-son relationship demonstrates that his father provides possessions but 'isn't there' for him. Placing importance on the provision of possessions

rather than emotional support during transition may have left participants feeling emotionally isolated from their family.

Superordinate theme 3: A new ‘me’ in the community

After release, participants felt they had matured in prison. Pro-social change was acknowledged but participants expressed difficulties in integrating their new attitudes in to their communities. This theme comprises three subordinate themes: Growing up in prison, pro-social change, integrating change with community.

Growing up in prison: Participants remembered themselves as children in prison that had since matured. Since being released, David reflected *“I grew up like...used to see different from now, you know what I mean? I don’t like going out drinking now”* (p. 28, line 928-936). David’s perception of ‘growing up’ was a change in attitude to socialising with others, indicating a desire for alternative pastimes.

Pro-social change: Participants felt that their attitude to offending had changed. Graeme reflected that he left behind his ‘offender’ status in prison: *“I was bad before I went in, I was wild, out of control, I’m different now”* (p.30, line 445). Kevin communicated a move away from crime: *“Like, I’ve changed from, like, doing crime and that”* (p.56, line 1202). Graeme and Kevin imply that in feeling more mature, they also felt it was possible to develop an alternative adult self to one of an ‘offender’.

Integrating change with the community: Participants demonstrated difficulties in reconciling new pro-social attitudes with their communities. Dean: *“nah, no-one is interested in doing new stuff. They all carry on with (doing the) old shit. Shit I don’t want to do anymore”* (p.75,

line 813). Dean's pro-social attitude change meant he felt out of place within his community. Participants indicated that they had limited strategies for integrating personal change made it challenging to fit the 'new me' in to the old community system. With no alternative, Keith managed confused, difficult feelings by: *"just getting my head down innit it, just getting through it"* (p.27, line 896).

Superordinate theme 4: Life on the out

Release provided an occasion for optimism about a 'fresh start' in the community. However, participants' expectations were mismatched with the reality of life on the out. Accustomed to the defined boundaries in prison, participants emphasised contrasting 'stuckness' of life on the out that presented a dilemma: to be crime-free but isolated, or stimulated having turned to peers linked with crime. This theme encompasses three subordinate themes: The optimism of release, community stands still, offence focussed interactions.

The optimism of release: Release provided hope for a different life in the community. John described his desire for a 'fresh start': *"you've just come out of jail...so you need a little fresh start"* (p. 29, line 535- 536). However, John's optimism quickly faded: *"When you get out you've got your money... then obviously you go out on the bender ... see your mates... the next morning you wake up and you've got nothing, it's just like 'tshhh'"* (p.2, line 37-40).

Community stands still: Prison encouraged skill building, providing alternatives to offending. Life in the community failed to reinforce those skills, offering relatively little activity. Tim described stagnant community system: *"I ain't got nothing to do on the out. Like, in there, I was on a college course but I've finished that now"* (p.23, line 461-468).

Offence focussed interactions: With little alternative activity, participants experienced a pull back to offending. Their dilemma was to either: withdraw from peers and risk isolation, or associate with peers and risk re-offending. Duncan found that withdrawing from peers meant staying at home alone: *“I don’t really go out any more cos... I would go out and cause trouble straightaway...Going out with the people I used to hang around with its risking it...to get into trouble, so it’s not worth it”* (p.10, line 163- 167). Without alternative activity, Kevin described the pull back to offending: *“Obviously if I keep on having nothing to do, I might go back into what I used to do...robbing and that”* (p. 60, line 1269-1270).

Superordinate theme 5: Justice System supporting and enforcing change.

A criminal record and conditions of release maintained participant’s ‘offender’ status during transition. Electronic ‘tags’ to manage behaviour in the community provided boundaries for pro-social conduct but enforcing behaviour change removed the potential for mastery of new activities. YOS provided social and professional contact in the void of limited social interaction, enabling participants to form an interpersonal foundation on which to build pro-social choices. This theme is supported with three subordinate themes: ‘criminal record maintains discrimination’, ‘enforcing behaviour change’, ‘nurturing relationships with professionals’

Criminal record maintains discrimination: Having a criminal record maintained the offender label for participants after release. Kevin described being pursued by police: *“So obviously, the police used to know it was us but couldn’t catch us, yeah? But once you’re on record they’re just on top of you”* (p.41, Line 875). Participants disclosed persecutory beliefs that they were discriminated against by wider society: Tim: *“Since I was inside, no one wants to know, I’ll never be let back in (to school)”* (p.4, Line 92).

Enforcing behaviour change: The electronic ‘tag’ had significant impact on pro-social conduct. Kevin described his reduced interaction with offending peers as a result of the ‘tag’: *“Like when all me mates are out there on like Friday nights...I have to sit in”* (p.48, Line 1020). However enforcing behavioural change with the ‘tag’ did not affect motivation for reform. John described an impulsive breach of curfew: *“I have a bad day and think ‘fuck it’ ...rip me tag off, at the time you’re raged up and you’ll just go off. Then you go home...and you’re thinking ‘I wish I never done that’...but it’s done isn’t it ...You’re going to have to do the time”* (p. 48, line 904). Enforcing behaviour change John’s case meant he was more concerned with the threat of recall, rather than showing a desire to reform for reform’s sake.

Nurturing relationships with professionals: Participants communicated their appreciation of relationships with professionals during transition. Ben expressed an attachment to the YOS characterised by good rapport with staff: *“I feel like I’ve landed on my feet here ... I’m doing well with the YOS ... this is the only time I’m actually cooperating and getting somewhere”* (p.31, line 442). This positive relationship may have provided him with a stable base from which to explore alternatives to offending. The criminal record, tag and attendance at YOS are all enforced by the justice system but the attachment relationship with YOS staff seemed important in mastering the transition process to the community.

Discussion

Whilst research has identified that imprisonment of young people has a negative psychological impact on development, there is limited published research that explores how young people in the UK transition in to community life after prison. The current study explored how ten participants experienced the transition from a YOI to community life. Participants emphasised the effect of a stagnant community on their opportunity for continued personal development and on their relationships. Specifically, participant's new perspective after release meant they felt isolated from their community that did not accommodate or value emerging pro-social change. While relationships with professionals offered some inspiration for continued pro-social conduct, a criminal record and license conditions frustratingly maintained the 'offender' identity. Participants managed isolation and frustration by 'getting on with it' and felt drawn to re-offending to provide activity and promote social inclusion.

Findings in relation to the literature

Current findings are in line with adult literature (Bahr et al., 2005) in that, opportunities for communication with the family system may influence the transition experience. However, the adult literature identifies that 'successful re-entry' involves a level of emotional and financial independence unattainable for young people. Arditti and Parkman (2011) propose that young people released from prison are unable to make autonomous decisions about life in the community, like choosing where and with whom to live. Current findings suggest that family relationships may play a pivotal role in the transition experience for young people and working with the whole-family system may improve the transition experience. The Bodega Model (Sullivan, Mino, Nelson & Pope, 2002) is a family centred approach that builds on

increasing social capital for the young person and their families. A model such as this may be useful in addressing a whole-family systems approach to promoting successful transition.

Schumacher and Melis (1994) propose that a successful transition is one where distress relating to the change event is replaced with mastery and wellbeing. Current findings suggest that enforcing pro-social behaviour change using an electronic tag could have more long-term influence, if the individual is skilled and motivated to maintain pro-social conduct. Nurturing motivation for behaviour change through developing supportive relationships that encourage self-confidence to maintain pro-social change may be more effective. The therapeutic parenting model developed by Hughes (2007) may provide a useful framework for supporting behaviour change. It explores the use of playfulness, acceptance, curiosity and empathy (PACE) which may provide a framework to facilitate the development of family interactions that promote optimal growth in individual identity development.

Implications for policy and practice

In addressing the 'stuckness' experienced by participants, the role of licence conditions may be addressed. Often conditions of licence do not affect offenders committing additional crimes (Lurigio & Petersilia, 1992). A graduated response to breaching licence conditions, using incentives and positive motivators may be useful. In the context of a population who have significant needs in the community, tempering sanctions with skill building presents the most balanced approach to crime prevention (Altshuler, 2005; Altshuler & Armstrong, 1994).

Treatment programmes that focus on the individual may be limited in addressing fundamental systemic difficulties within families and communities. However cognitive behavioural

approaches have shown promising outcomes (Lipsey, Chapman & Landenberger, 2001; Pearson et al., 2002). Programmes emphasising interpersonal effectiveness and behavioural contracting have shown the greatest improvements in desistance (Chandler, 1973; Gordon, Graves & Arbuthnot, 1987). Continuity in treatment programmes between the institution and the community may have the greatest potential to improve desistance (Altschuler, Armstrong & MacKenzie, 1999). To address continuity in treatment approaches, transition planning implemented by the YOS rather than prison, might promote greater coherence during transition. Psychological therapies, using narrative approaches and ‘life story’ development might be used to span the transition process, reducing the ‘shock of release’ for young people. An initial appointment with the YOS in prison may provide an opportunity to start this intervention, recognising that the transition process begins with the ending of prison.

The current study found that relationships with other people permeated all five themes to some extent. Further qualitative research might explore the family member’s experience of having a young person return to the community after prison. Increased understanding of the experience of transition for the family might clarify the potential usefulness of a whole-family approach to intervention.

Inevitably there are a number of limitations with this study, despite it being informed by quality control measures (Pilnick & Swift, 2010). Yardley (2008) suggests that the engagement between participant and researcher can influence the data. Participants may have re-framed their responses to express more socially acceptable views, rather than their own experiences. As with all qualitative data, the generalisability of the findings are limited. Interviews were conducted with white, British males, of similar age, accessing one particular YOS in the North West of England.

In conclusion, challenges for service development will necessarily involve looking at recent indications of prison reform (Prison reform Trust, 2012). Given the announced budget cuts and the high cost of imprisonment, it makes sense to be considering reducing re-offending rates in young people in the U.K. Alongside a changing political climate, the U.K may be entering a time for new criminal justice policy that requires close attention to vulnerable communities and families that may be unprepared to support the needs of young people making the transition back to the community.

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CHAPTER 3: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter presents three sections that discuss the empirical research presented in Chapter 2. Initially a ‘General Overview’ provides an expanded discussion of the research findings and their relevance to theory, research, and clinical practice. Methodological considerations and limitations of the research are discussed in detail. Secondly, a short lay summary presents the research for other young people experiencing release and not familiar with psychological research. Alternative formats of the lay summary are available in a leaflet (presented) and a podcast recording is ready for on-line publication following formal publication of the empirical research paper. It uses non-technical language and a variety of media formats to communicate the research findings to young people with a range of cognitive abilities. In making the research accessible, those who participated in the study are acknowledged. It is hoped their experiences may help validate other young people’s experiences of transition. Finally, a research design for potential ‘Future Research’ recognises the significance of family relationships during transition emphasised by participants in the empirical research.

General Overview

Summary of the Research

The aim of this research was to understand the meaning and impact of making the transition from juvenile custodial services to community youth justice services for young people. Previous research has focused on recidivism in adult re-entry and comes mostly from the U.S (Bahr, 2005; Parsons & Warner-Robins, 2012; Shivy et al., 2007). There is less emphasis on this field of study in the U.K and limited research that addresses young people's re-entry (Champion & Clare, 2006; Meek, 2007). The current research interviewed ten participants aiming to understand their experience of transition from custody to the community using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Five overlapping superordinate themes emerged: (1) '*A beginning and ending to prison*', (2) '*Family and friendship systems of offending*', (3) '*A new 'me' in the community*', (4) '*Life on the out*' and (5) '*Justice System supporting and enforcing change*'. These themes were comprised of sixteen subordinate themes that captured the meaning of transition for participants.

Participants described a community system that did not promote their desistance from anti-social behaviours. This influenced their emerging pro-social development and relationships. Participants found their desire to explore alternatives to offending was prevented due to a lack of pro-social activities available in the community. Relationships with Youth Offending Service (YOS) professionals provided a positive influence on sustaining and motivating positive change. However, other methods for enforcing behaviour change, such as electronic 'tagging' maintained the 'offender' identity in the community. Participants' limited strategies to integrate their emerging new identities in to their communities evoked feelings of isolation. Participants coped by avoiding thinking about their current lives and potential plans,

describing a sense of 'stuckness'. This culminated in being drawn to anti-social behaviour to promote social inclusion.

Themes relating to the Literature

A beginning and ending to prison

The superordinate theme '*A beginning and ending to prison*' is composed of four subordinate themes: '*the induction to prison*', '*integrating to life in prison*', '*the shock of release*', '*assimilating the experience of prison*'. It demonstrated that the induction and assessment on arrival in prison promoted integration to the prison environment. This was in contrast to the release from prison which often came as a shock and provoked anxiety for participants. This theme is in line with previous research by Champion and Clare (2006) who found that moving back in to the community felt unfamiliar and caused anxiety. However, the current empirical research findings extend Champion & Clare (2006), emphasising the stark contrast between the induction to prison and the lack of planning for release. Current findings indicate that an unplanned release prolonged a sense of anxiety for participants while they attempted to integrate back in to their communities.

Family and friendship systems of offending

The superordinate theme '*Family and friendship systems of offending*' is made up of three subordinate themes: '*Prison is normalised in families and friendships*', '*prison disrupts family and friendships*', '*emotional distance in family and friendship systems*'. Participants described prison as a familiar event for their families and peer groups. These findings are consistent with Abrams (2007) who found that peer groups are often associated with crime in the community and therefore present a challenge to desistance. The adult literature (O'Brien, 2001 and Bahr et al., 2005) also indicated the importance of social networks not linked to

crime in influencing desistance. The current empirical research findings go further, emphasising the specific importance of family relationships for participants during transition. While participants explicitly and consistently described their families as ‘aright’, their descriptions of their relationships with family members lacked emotional depth. This promoted a sense of emotional disconnectedness within families.

Emotional distance within family relationships may be linked to theory from Bifulco and Moran (1998) who worked with children who had experienced neglect. They suggest that children learn to adapt to living without physical and or emotional contact from a parent by accommodating the absence of nurturing by withdrawing or distancing themselves from the family unit and others as they mature. Participants in the current research did not explicitly describe childhood histories of neglect but their limited descriptions of family relationships might suggest an inability within families to communicate about their emotional experiences. In some cases this lack of communication may indicate past childhood emotional deprivation that has resulted in an insecure attachment style. This may mean that participants continued to reject others in relationships as they matured (Bowlby, 1998). Perhaps an insecure attachment style, founded on past emotional deprivation might explain why participants did not interpret their family relationships as lacking emotional connection and often described them as simply ‘alright’.

A new ‘me’ in the community

The superordinate theme ‘*a new ‘me’ in the community*’ is based on three subordinate themes: ‘*Growing up in prison*’, ‘*pro-social change*’, ‘*integrating change with community*’. Participants described their growing sense of maturity since being in prison. This is perhaps not surprising given their stage of adolescence. Many participants disclosed a desire for a

non-offender identity that was emerging at the time of transition from custody. However, their development of a pro-social identity was not reinforced by the reality of life in the community. An inability to integrate their emerging new identities in to old community systems meant participants felt out of place and isolated in the community.

These findings are partly consistent with theory of emerging adulthood proposed by Arnett (2006). This theory suggests that emerging adulthood may provide an age where young people are able to take stock of their lives. This age may provide them with the opportunity to transform their trajectories and move in positive directions. Arnett (2006) suggests that emerging adulthood provides a stage of increasing maturity and understanding that potentially allows young people to handle whatever life throws at them. Participants in the current empirical research described how their interests in social pastimes were changing. New direction was especially evident for some participants who talked about new employment, girlfriends and hobbies. However, other participants it seemed had not achieved their 'emerging adulthood' status and instead felt unable to negotiate self-sufficiency without the adult support. This feeling may have been perpetuated by a prison experience that did not promote independence and autonomy (Arditti & Parkman, 2011).

Bifulco and Moran (1998) emphasised the effect of childhood experience on adolescent development of attributes such as self-confidence. For example, they propose that a young person's first reference to understanding the world comes from their parents. If emotional distance characterised participants' relationships with their parents, then they might conclude that they are unlovable and life will be unsafe and hostile. If a young person is mistreated they may conclude they are inherently 'bad'. Therefore, forming a positive adult self-identity,

as someone who makes a positive contribution to society, may well be in conflict with a childhood understanding of self which is linked with being a ‘bad’ offender.

Life on the out

The superordinate theme ‘*Life on the out*’ is composed of three subordinate themes: ‘*The optimism of release*’, ‘*community stands still*’ and ‘*offence focussed interactions*’. Participants talked about their hopes of making a ‘fresh start’ in the community. However, their initial optimism gave way to disappointment when pro-social opportunities in the community were not available. Participants talked extensively about the numerous opportunities for developing new skills and pro-social pastimes while in prison. Most participants spent the majority of their interviews describing a rich and varied life in prison. In contrast descriptions of life in the community were empty of meaningful, pro-social activity. Participants described their dilemma: to continue attempting to develop a new pro-social self but risk continued isolation and boredom, or to re-establish old patterns of anti-social behaviour to promote activity and social inclusion.

These findings are in line with those of Meek (2007) who found that hopes for life ‘on the out’ were modest but difficult to achieve without support. Participants in the current empirical research also inferred limited abilities in formulating plans to achieve their goals. Instead participants seemed to (unrealistically) expect that their hopes and goals would materialise. This expectation may have been influenced by a prison experience that provided clear reward systems. These reward systems in themselves may have offered participants a pathway to achievement of short-term goals such as having a television/ trainers. Panuccio et al. (2012) found that individual motivation for change was an important factor in influencing reintegration success. However, current findings suggest that participants showed signs of

emerging motivation to change but found it difficult not to be defined by their community environment. The stigma associated with their criminal records maintained their identities as ‘young offenders’. Arditti and Parkman (2011) also found that developmental age and the impact of the prison experience meant that young people were reliant on adults to facilitate pro-social opportunities. This is because participants did not have the necessary resources to make autonomous decisions, like choosing where and with whom to live. It may be concluded that in promoting desistance in young people, the family and community system have a significant influence on the transition experience.

Justice system supporting and enforcing change

The final superordinate theme in the empirical research includes three subordinate themes: ‘*criminal record maintains discrimination*’, ‘*enforcing behaviour change*’, ‘*nurturing relationships with professionals*’. Participants perceived persecution from police and other representatives of wider society because of their status as ex-offenders. Participants expressed hopes to attend apprenticeships and ‘get legit’. However, a criminal record maintained their offending status making pro-social change even further out of reach. Electronic ‘tags’ to manage behaviour in the community provided boundaries for pro-social conduct but enforcing behaviour change removed the potential for mastery of new activities. Schumacher and Melis (1994) proposed that to make a ‘successful’ transition in relation to a major change event, the anxiety relating to the change event must be replaced with mastery and wellbeing. The empirical findings in this research suggest that enforcing pro-social behaviour change using an electronic ‘tag’ might be supported in the long term by developing participant’s skills in maintaining pro-social conduct.

Anderson (1999) and Inderbitzen (2009) proposed that young people's desistance might be supported by increased opportunities to develop an outlook that allows them to invest in obtaining pro-social opportunities that are available. If communities have 'written off' young people with a criminal record and they are aware of this, then they are less likely to want to try and change their trajectories. Findings in the current empirical research indicated that participants' attachment to the YOS staff nurtured long-term changes in behaviour. Attachments to YOS staff provided social and professional contact when there were few other opportunities for interpersonal interaction at home. These findings are consistent with Abrams (2007), Arditti and Parkman (2011), Champion and Clare (2006) and Panuccio et al. (2012) who all acknowledge that services need to attend to the developmental needs of young people in addition to their practical needs. Current empirical findings demonstrate that enhancing the relationship with YOS may involve a focus on developing interpersonal and practical skills empowering them to initiate steps towards achieving pro-social goals.

Reflexivity

The author's own construct of transition is based on personal past experience of making transitions from school to university, university to employment and current transitions from Clinical Psychology training to qualification. These junctures have all proved difficult to navigate and are recalled as times of great upheaval, uncertainty and personal development.

In designing and implementing this research, the author found it challenging to remain objective and not attempt to interpret participant experiences of transition as parallel to their own. Prior to clinical training, the author worked with young people with forensic histories accessing an Early Intervention for psychosis service (EIS). The author recognised those with forensic histories were particularly vulnerable. Until involvement with EIS, these young

people had received very little support, despite being involved with social services since they were children. Through the narratives of the participants in the current study, the author recognised that like previous service-users, participants were repeatedly overlooked. As a result, impartiality was challenging during analysis. The author recognised a tendency to ‘empower’ participants during interpretation of the data. It was challenging to remain observant of the authors’ indignation at participants’ experience, because the author’s own transitions have been difficult, even when supported by family, friends and social networks. It is hoped this research goes some little way to acknowledging and understanding this dismissed sector of our society. It is hoped that while the vulnerability of participants during transition is obvious, findings also convey their courage and optimism which strengthens their resilience.

Methodological Considerations

The following section considers the manner in which the study was carried out and relates this to the findings. Steps taken to enhance the scientific rigour are outlined and the method is discussed in relation to the limitations of the findings.

Enhancing scientific rigour

Qualitative research necessarily incorporates ‘credibility checks’ to ensure that the findings are in keeping with the perspectives of people who have knowledge and experience in the field of study (Elliot, Fischer & Rennie, 1999). The following procedures were carried out to ensure the validity of the research:

- The research supervisor, who was familiar with the YOS and the literature participated in listening to the initial recording of the interviews, reading the transcripts and repeated discussion of emerging codes and themes in with research.

- Researcher met with others doing IPA to discuss emerging codes and themes with peers.

Design

This study used Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to analyse the data, which was collected using semi-structured interviews. The strength of this sort of analysis in exploring participants' understanding of their experiences is that it has provided a rich narrative about the lives of participants. It has also provided insight in to participants' relationships with services, families and peers and the justice system. IPA does not attempt to generalise participant experience to the wider population of young people making the transition from custody to the community. However, findings indicate the importance of focussing attention on the transitional period between prison and the community in promoting desistance and encouraging pro-social change.

Sampling

Recruitment was facilitated through participants' YOS key workers who suggested individuals eligible to take part. This may have lead to a bias in identifying participants for participation. For example, individuals considered particularly interpersonally skilled may have been more likely to have been put forward by key workers, as they are more likely to have enjoyed the interview experience. However, socially skilled individuals may have also found re-integration easier, as they may have elicited more social support from others. This may have influenced the data collection for those participants who were particularly comfortable in interacting with other people.

A further potential limitation is that the offence for which they were sentenced to juvenile custody was not a criterion for inclusion or exclusion. Participants' offences were armed/unarmed robbery, theft and Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH). The type of offence committed may influence the experience of transition from custody to the community. For example, those who have committed sexually motivated crime may have a harder time in re-integrating than the participants in this study. This limitation became clear at the 'emerging theme stage' of analysis. Emerging themes about the 'social norms in/out of prison' were identified and participants explained their perception of sexual offenders. While IPA does not try to generalise findings to the wider population, it should be noted that a young person's experience of transition may be affected by the type of offence they commit.

Interviewing

Semi-structured interviews were used for data collection. This method promoted flexibility in discussion whilst retaining structure. Reflections on the interviews were recorded in journal format after the interviews to consider reflexivity. However, the author's lack of familiarity with the juvenile justice system may have been a limitation in the current study. During early interviews it was challenging to understand some of the colloquialisms used by participants in describing prison. For example, the significance of 'gels' (shower gels) was missed until the fourth interview when the recurring reference to 'gels' was recognised. It was then possible to ask sufficient questions to develop understanding about their importance in the transition experience. This necessarily involved deviation from the interview schedule. Eatough and Smith (2007) proposed that it is a skill to know when to observe the interview schedule and when to deviate. The research team advised the author to ask about participant's day in general or memorable events in prison, to increase opportunities for participants to lead the interview. Employing this strategy was a skill that improved over the

course of the interviews but may have affected the richness of the data in some of the earlier interviews.

The way that the first author engaged with participants may have influenced the findings (Yardley, 2008). While the first author did not work the YOS, participants may have recognised them as a member of staff. Therefore, it is acknowledged that this may have impacted on participants responses. Participants may have deferred to their perception of the first author as a member of the staff team by only expressing socially acceptable views, rather than personal experiences. For example, participants described their ‘pro-social change’ and this may have been a socially desirable response, rather than their personal experience.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was carried out over a period of nine months from July 2012 – April 2013. This substantial analysis period enabled the data to be analysed from an initial surface level, down to a deeper, more interpretative level. It is hoped that presentation of the results reflects this. For example, the superordinate theme ‘*A beginning and ending to prison*’ encapsulates the emotional process participants experienced when entering and exiting the community during transition. The importance of these stages was not a topic for discussion during interviews and was not explicitly stated by participants. It was implied by participants and interpreted by the author during the analytic process. This process is described by Smith, Larkin and Flowers (2009) but there is always a risk this may not be adequately grounded in the data. Given that a principal feature of IPA is its commitment to the idiographic level of analysis, each participant should be sufficiently represented within the analysis. While each of the ten participants is quoted in the representation of analysis, it is acknowledged that with ten participants and five superordinate themes, it was difficult to fully represent each individual

through use of sufficient extracts from each transcript. In an attempt to ensure the quality of this research various procedures were carried out. Themes are illustrated by a number of quotes from a range of participants. Other members of the research team were also involved in the development and validation of the themes to ensure themes were grounded in the data.

Clinical Implications and Recommendations

The results from this research indicate the importance of the transition period for young people reintegrating to the community after custody. Justice systems often emphasise punishment and academic or vocational training to facilitate future success after release. Findings from the current research indicate that while training and punishment are important components for an appropriate response to offending, they may not significantly improve transitional experience for young people (Chung, Little & Steinberg, 2005). Arman and Rensfeldt (2003) suggest that in order to successfully move forward after a transition period, there needs to be some reflection and understanding of the major life event. In this case, participants may feel ‘stuck’ in trying to adapt to life in the community if they are not given the opportunity to accept and incorporate their time in prison in to their ‘fresh start’. Thus, an emphasis on using the time spent with professionals to reflect on the experience of transition may enhance the psychological adaptation to life in the community after release.

Continuity in Care

In addressing the quality of relationships in the community, continuity in support plays a central role. Frederick (1999) proposed that ‘Continuity of Care’ involves five components. Firstly, ‘continuity of control’ proposes a gradual reduction in structure in prison to avoid producing the anxiety at release (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1997). Secondly, ‘continuity in the

range of services' involves availability of services that reduce the risk of reoffending. This might include schooling and employment. Thirdly, 'continuity of service and programme content' proposes employing the same treatment approach both in and out of prison. Fourthly, 'continuity in the social environment' requires the involvement of social networks (family and peers) in treatment models. This leads into 'continuity of attachment' that proposes the development of a secure attachment with professionals in the community (Altschuler & Armstrong, 2001). In order to promote continuity in care, YOS staff may be well placed to address the transition process and begin building relationships with young people, while they are still in custody.

In implementing a clinical model that might embody Frederick's (1999) 'Continuity of Care' The Bodega Model may be useful (Sullivan, Mino, Nelson & Pope, 2002). This is a highly regarded model in the U.S. that focuses on individual and collective strengths within the family to manage transition. It has shown success in improving family health, reducing social service input and tackling substance use (Arditti & Parkman, 2011). It focuses on increasing the social capital of individuals and their families both interpersonally and financially. This model might address a whole-family systems approach to promoting successful transition.

Licence Conditions

In addressing the 'stuckness' experienced by participants, the role of licence conditions may be considered. Violation of licence conditions may result in recall to prison. Often licence conditions have minimal impact on the motivation of offenders for desistance (Lurigio & Petersilia, 1992). The sanctions for licence violations are insufficient partly due to appropriate services being unavailable (Altshuler, 2005). A graduated response to licence violation, using incentives and positive motivators may promote motivation for desistance.

Tempering punishments for violations with skill building and addressing individual strengths might provide a balanced approach to crime prevention (Altshuler, 2005; Altshuler & Armstrong, 1994).

Psychological Approaches

In attending to participants' difficulties in integrating emerging pro-social identities, an approach that works solely with the individual may be less effective than a whole-systems approach. However Cognitive Behavioural programmes in both institutions and the community have shown promising outcomes (Lipsey, Chapman & Landenberger, 2001; Pearson et al., 2002). The greatest improvements in desistance are non-institutional programmes that emphasise interpersonal skills training and behavioural contracting (Barton et al., 1985; Gordon, Graves & Arbuthnot, 1987). Overlapping treatment programmes between institutional and non-institutional programmes have also been shown to be beneficial in promoting desistance (Altshuler, Armstrong & MacKenzie, 1999). Emphasising penal institutions and community based services working together may involve integrating community staff into the planning of release and treatment programmes.

Phillips and Lindsay (2009) recognised that avoidance of problems and feelings is a coping strategy employed by people of all ages during re-entry. Similar strategies were inferred by the participants in the current research with many of them talking about just 'getting on with it'. Psychological provision for young people during re-entry might address avoidance strategies. Quinsey et al. (1998) presents the coping-criminality hypothesis which makes links between the repetitions of criminal behaviour and poor coping abilities. They propose that learning healthy coping strategies can lead to improved desistance. Linking programs

that focus on developing coping skills in the prison environment with community based programmes might help maintain skills in the long-term.

Staff Training

Professionals may be better equipped to help young people through processes of adaptation if they understand the psychological processes involved in transition (Glacken et al., 2001). Recruitment, screening, training and performance reviews might look for individuals who are committed to providing continuity of care and understanding transition. Caseloads which are clearly defined in the input expected from the professional may influence the efficiency of staffing. Administrative control of licence violations, together with a graduated response capability may also help practitioners respond more appropriately to offender's behaviour.

The therapeutic parenting model developed by Hughes (2007) may provide a useful framework for professionals in supporting behaviour change through a family systems approach. It explores the use of playfulness, love, acceptance, curiosity and empathy (PLACE) which facilitates family interactions that promote optimal growth in individual identity development. Hughes (2007) family based intervention focuses on facilitating a young person's ability to develop a secure attachment to their main care giver. This model is based upon attachment theory and encompasses family, narrative, psychodynamic and therapeutic approaches to intervention. Training YOS staff in a therapy such as this might offer a theoretical, therapeutic foundation for understanding the developmental needs of young people that may not have experienced secure attachments before.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to understand young people's experience of transition from custody to the community. The literature in this area is limited and comes mostly from the U.S where incarceration rates are much higher than in the U.K. New governmental policy in the U.K. appears to suggest that increasing the punishment of young people will help reduce re-offending. Policy such as this appears to pay little attention to the reality of life for young people who offend in the community. Research has demonstrated a reduction in reoffending rates since the introduction of intensive support programmes (Prison Reform Trust, 2012). Theory from Arnett (2006) suggest that making the transition from prison back in to the community is a potentially hopeful time for young people. Generally, young people leaving custody are optimistic about their future, yet the community that meets them at release is often emotionally empty. Clinical implications from this research call for policy and services that supports the psychological needs of young people and their social networks, as they re-enter the community. Increasing the continuity between the institution, community services and families might promote young people's exploration of pro-social adult roles. Finally, current empirical findings propose adequate training for professionals to work with young people experiencing the psychological transition from custody to the community.

Lay Summary for Young People

The following lay summary provides a version of the empirical research for young people making the transition from custody to the community. In acknowledgement of the range of cognitive abilities of young people who offend, this is followed by a short leaflet, providing an alternative format for communicating the findings. Finally a podcast recording of the lay summary has been recorded, awaiting on-line publication when the empirical research paper has been formally published. Provision of the findings in a variety of media formats aims to improve accessibility of information about release for young people.

What did this research try to do?

This research tried to help us understand what it is like for young people when they are released from custody in to the community.

Where did the research idea come from?

There is not much research that has been done with young people leaving custody and moving back in to the community. Some research in the United States of America (U.S) focuses on stopping young people re-offending (Visser & Travis, 2003). The U.S justice system is different to the United Kingdom (U.K) so it is hard to compare the experiences of young people in the U.S and the U.K. There are some things in the U.S research that might be useful though. Some research says that being influenced by your mates can affect whether you go back to re-offending in the community. It also says that being motivated to changes your behaviour also impacts on re-offending. Other researcher has looked at adults moving from prison to the community. They found that having a job, a home and access to money was important in moving from prison to the community.

There are important differences between adults and young people in moving back to the community. Some researchers have noticed that young people have more needs than adults. In 2011, Joyce Arditti and Tiffany Parkman showed that it is pointless for society to tell young people that leave prison that they need to behave like adults. This is because the experience of prison may have interrupted the development processes other people who don't go to prison experience. Because there hasn't been much research with young people in the same position as you, it seemed important for people who design services in the U.K to hear what it is really like when young people leave prison and go back to living in the community.

How was the research carried out?

Ten young people who had recently left prison were interviewed. These were young people (between 15 and 17 years old) were accessing a Youth Offending Service (YOS). A few questions helped the conversation along but mostly the young people talked about their current experience of moving back in to the community. These interviews were recorded and typed up, so that the words spoken were all written down on paper. A particular type of method for thinking about the words was used. This sort of analysis is good for looking at how people make sense of their experiences.

What did other young people say about getting back in to the community?

The young people I spoke to talked about lots of different things. Everybody has an individual experience of moving back in to the community. However, there were five main themes that each person said affected them most. These were:

'A beginning and ending to prison': Getting used to life in prison was a lot easier than getting used to living back in the community. This was probably because there was a gradual

induction and assessment process when participants arrived at prison. However, participants were often shocked when their release day arrived. They didn't have anyone to gradually introduce them back in to the community again.

'Family and friendship systems of offending': Participants said their families and friends were helpful after release. However, it seemed to me that they didn't talk much with their families and friends about prison and moving home. This meant that participants felt distant from their families and friends.

'A new 'me' in the community': After release participants said they felt like they wanted to make a fresh start. They felt more mature since prison. They also wanted to try new activities and start work, rather than going back to old ways linked with crime.

'Life on the out': Most participants found that they weren't given as much to do in the community as in prison. They found that there wasn't much to do and it difficult to start new activities on their own. This meant they were stuck not knowing what to do next.

'Justice System supporting and enforcing change': Having a criminal record and being on 'tag' was difficult because it stopped participants from moving on with their lives. However, going to the YOS sometimes helped participants to decide what to do next.

What does that mean for you?

You might not have the same experience as the people I spoke to. However, it might be helpful for you to know that moving back in to the community can be hard work. Maybe you know that already. But there are services out there that can help you. The YOS staff are employed to supervise your release but they can also help you think about your next steps. The rest of the findings in this research are meant for professionals. This is because previous research has shown that young people are still developing. Therefore, adults in services and your family might be helped to support your experience of release. Staff at the YOS could be

trained to offer you time to talk with them about leaving prison and what to do next. Improving adults' abilities in talking and listening to you, as well as giving you practical help, might help you to learn how to take charge of your life as part of a wider society. The following leaflet in Figure 1 summarises the research in a way that you might find helpful.

Figure 1: Leaflet summarising the lay summary for young people

Young People: The Transition from Custody to the Community

This research aimed to find out what it is like for young people when they are released from custody and make the move in to the community.

Who? Where?, When?, Why?

- **Who:** 10 young people between 15-17yrs that had recently left custody and were living in the community.
- **Where:** In the North West of England
- **When:** Between April 2012 and July 2012
- **Why:** To help give a voice to young people who face this difficult time in their lives. To show other people the problems they face and to think about how their experience might be made better.

Information about the research

Background

There isn't much research in the U.K. on this area. There is even less done with young people.

Method

10 young people were interviewed after release and asked about how they were finding life on the out.

What did young people say about release?

Everyone's experience of leaving prison is different. These young people said 5 main things:

- Getting in to prison life is easier than getting used to the community again after release.
- Families try to help but there isn't much talking about the prison experience.
- They felt more grown-up and wanted to think about stopping crime.
- Not much had changed in the community and making a fresh start wasn't easy.
- Having a tag and a record stops you moving on but the YOS staff can be really helpful.

Conclusions

Services and families could help during release by talking and listening much more about the experience. Practical to find work and make new friendships support during this time might also make a big difference in encouraging a fresh start and positive directions in the community

Where can I access YOS?

When you are released, part of your license conditions will be to attend the YOS for the rest of your tariff. Although the YOS are duty bound to supervise you during release, they are also there to help you think about your next steps. Talk to your YOS about how they can help you

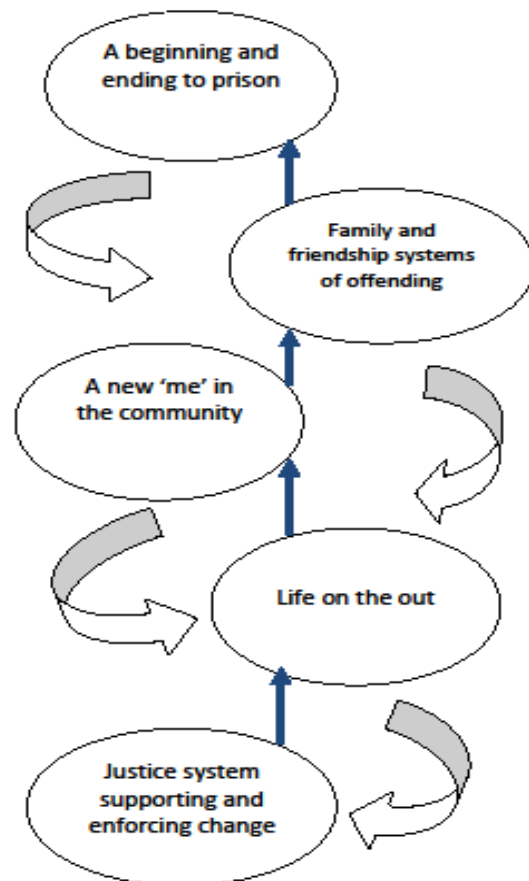
Confidentiality

All our staff are duty bound to respect the confidentiality of people referred to our service. Information is shared with other workers on a "need to know" basis and with other parties in situations where there is felt to be a serious risk either to you or to others. Information is recorded on a secure computer system, which can only be accessed by the relevant staff.

Comments, Compliments, Complaints

Your views are important to us. If you wish to make a comment, compliment or complaint, please talk to a member of staff, or ask for more information and the complaints leaflet.





Where else can I look for information about release?

Useful websites:

www.gov.uk/youth-offending-team

www.youthhealthtalk.org

www.samaritans.org

Useful books:

“Feeling like Crap: Young People and the Meaning of Self-Esteem” by Nick Luxmoore

“Talking about Domestic Abuse: A Photo Activity Workbook to Develop Communication between Mothers and Young People” by Cathy Humphries



Making the Move: Life on the Out



If you require this information in a different language or format please contact the ??

Future Research

The following section provides a direction for future research that might expand the current empirical research. This research may have implications for the implementation of clinical recommendations that require a whole-family approach in addressing re-entry for young people.

Aim: To explore family members' experience of a young person returning from juvenile custodial services to the community.

General background: The current study found that relationships with other people had significant meaning and impact upon the transition experience for young people and permeated all five themes that emerged. The clinical implications of these findings suggested that supporting the transition experience might be strengthened by a whole-family systems approach. This might help young people and their families to address young people's sense of 'being different' and feeling impotent in forging independent futures in the community. However, it may be considered a challenge to implement this approach without first understanding how family members (mothers, fathers, care-givers or siblings) experience the return of a young person from a custodial sentence.

Previous research in this area has focussed on family predictors of offending (Hartinger-Saunders et al., 2012). Their study focused on the likelihood of young people re-offending if they experienced low-parental monitoring. They found that if young people experienced an increase in parental-supervision, they were less likely to re-offend. However, there is no

research that aims to provide understanding about the experience for family members when a young person returns after custody.

Rationale: Greater understanding about the meaning and impact of a young person returning home after prison is an area requiring further development. This may have clinical implications for the implementation of a whole-family systems approach in addressing young people's re-entry experience.

Design: This research could involve semi-structured interviews with family members (i.e. mothers, fathers, caregivers or siblings) of young people who have recently returned from a custodial sentence in the U.K. The aim of the research might be to explore the family member's experience of supporting young people's re-integration. This may encompass social requirements, as well as understanding relationships within the family system and individual psychological needs. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) may be preferable to other qualitative methods for this study because it is concerned with understanding individual experience, enabling researchers to identify themes central to understanding a family member's individual experience of a young person's return after custody.

The IPA method has some parallels with Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in that both approaches have been developed from the traditions of phenomenology and symbolic interactionism. However, Grounded Theory aims to develop theory grounded in data, whereas IPA is more concerned with understanding individual experiences (Shaw, 2001). Material on which IPA is based is also similar to that used in Discourse Analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), a key difference between Discourse Analysis and IPA is that Discourse

Analysis is focussed on the role of language while IPA attempts to explore cognitions and thought processes. Therefore, it may be more appropriate to use IPA to best understand the meaning and impact of a young person's return after custody.

Participants/ Sampling/ Access

Setting

Research could take place in Youth Offending Service (YOS) sites, as these are likely to be familiar to family members whose young people are required to access the YOS.

Eligibility Criteria:

In order to create a homogenous sample, it may be necessary to select a specific role within the family to interview. For example, a group of mothers would provide a more homogenous sample than a mixture of fathers, mothers, siblings etc. Participants must be family members to whom the young person has returned to live with, after a period in custody. This would ensure that the experience of having a young person 'return' to the family unit could be captured in the data. Interviews could be carried out in a period not exceeding two months following the young person's release from custody. This time period has been specified to capture the family member's experience during the early stages of return from prison.

Risk & Confidentiality:

Prior to interviewing, the author may explain to the family member that the content of the interview will remain confidential and personal details anonymised. However, the young person, to whom the family member is related, must also provide consent for interview. If in the course of the interview, issues of safety arise, then relevant external services will be notified. This will be made explicit to family members and young people prior to interview.

Recruitment:

Recruitment might be facilitated by Health Workers/ Case Managers based within participating YOS. The number of young people released from a juvenile custodial service in the North-west, transferring in to local YOS is approximately 12 – 15 per month.

Measures & Materials

Data collection might use semi-structured interviews, devised in collaboration with the research team. The interview schedule could follow guidelines suggested by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) and aim to facilitate comfortable interaction with the participants and encourage them to provide detailed accounts of their experience of a young person's return from custody. The topics covered during the interviews could attend to: resettlement needs, the impact of sentencing on the family system as a whole, reputation of the family within their community, informal and formal support and plans for the future. The questions could be prepared so they are open and expansive and should avoid assumptions about the individual's experience. They will be posed informally to the participant allowing for individual expansion on a given topic area. For example:

Support: *Evaluative Questioning: "How have services supported you when the young person returned?" or Descriptive Questioning: "Please could you tell me about the support services have provided for you?"*

Resettlement needs: *Comparative Questioning: "What was it like when they moved back home?"*

Impact on the Family: *Descriptive Questioning: "What was the effect on the family of the young person's sentencing?" Or Structural Questioning: "So, what are your next steps in supporting the young person?"*

Probes or prompts may also be used to expand a question if the participant has difficulty elaborating on areas of their experience. For example, “*Can you tell me a bit about that*” or, “*What do you mean by ‘injustice’*”.

Conclusion

Due to the nature of IPA, findings from this research proposal do not aim to be generalised to the wider population. However, this study may promote understanding of the family members’ experience of the return of a young person after custody. Research such as this may enhance understanding about the influences that affect the family relationships during re-entry. This may highlight areas for further exploration for services aiming to strengthen links between custodial institutions, community services and families in supporting young people making the transition from custody to the community.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of Dr Ben Harper and Professor James McGuire for supervisory input in all aspects of the research, specifically in relation to analysis, reviewing the literature. Thank you also to the Youth Offending Service, especially Steve Allison in facilitating recruitment. Particular thanks to all of the young people at the Youth Offending Service who took part in the research. I felt privileged to listen to your experiences and hope this research contributes in some way to increasing understanding about the significant challenges you face after custody. Finally, I would like to thank my mother Ellen, partner Steve and friend Adam for their never ending support and patience throughout the research period.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A: Reasons for exclusion (titles and abstracts)

Appendix B: Staff Information Sheet

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

Appendix E: Sample of a transcript (exploratory comments & initial themes)

Appendix F: A 'cluster theme' table for participant 1 (initial themes & emerging themes)

Appendix G: A 'cluster theme' table (subordinate themes across participants)

Appendix H: Master Table of themes (Superordinate themes)

Appendix A: Reasons for exclusion (titles and abstracts)

PSYC INFO

| Reasons for exclusion | Number excluded |
|---|-----------------|
| Medication Focus | 1 |
| Focus on Parenthood | 3 |
| In- Prison Intervention/Evaluation (Education, drug treatment, mental health and treatment program) | 21 |
| Pre-release data collection | 1 |
| Participants with HIV/AIDS Focus | 9 |
| Participants with a Substance Abuse focus | 15 |
| Participants with Psychiatric Diagnosis focus | 11 |
| Participants with Physical Health problems focus | 3 |
| In-prison Human Rights deprivation | 1 |
| Prison reform and restructuring | 4 |
| Focus on domestic violence and Abuse | 2 |
| Book review | 1 |
| Post prison program evaluation | 6 |
| Prison Policy | 2 |
| Suicide | 3 |
| Sexuality | 1 |
| Environmental issues | 1 |
| Family Issues/Carers | 2 |
| Secure Hospitals | 1 |

Relevant Articles:

Meek (2007)
Bahr (2005)
Shivy (2007)
O'Brian (2001)
Abrams (2012)
Inderbitzen(2009)
Panuccio(2012)
Ardetti (2011)

Scopus

| Reasons for Exclusion | Number excluded |
|---|-----------------|
| Focus on Parenthood | 1 |
| In- Prison Intervention/Evaluation (Education, drug treatment, mental health and treatment program) | 12 |
| Pre-release data collection | 1 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Participants with HIV/AIDS Focus | 10 |
| Participants with Substance Abuse focus | 13 |
| Participants with Psychiatric Disorder focus | 15 |
| Participants with Physical Health problems focus | 10 |
| In-prison Human Rights deprivation | 1 |
| Prison reform and restructuring | 11 |
| Book review | 1 |
| Post prison program evaluation | 3 |
| Prison Policy | 7 |
| Suicide/ death in prison | 1 |
| Environmental issues | 7 |
| Family/ carer perspectives | 3 |
| Country Transition following conflict (South Africa Transition/ Russia transition/ Northern Ireland/ Columbia) | 12 |
| Employment rates | 4 |
| Non-criminal participants | 2 |
| Participant Debt focus | 4 |
| Racial differences in re-entry | 2 |
| Pre-release anticipation, goals, hope | 1 |
| Armed Forces Transition | 1 |
| Media perception of people in prison | 1 |

Duplication: 23

Relevant articles: Parsons (2012)

NCJRS

| Reasons for exclusion | Number excluded |
|--|-----------------|
| In- Prison Intervention/Evaluation (Education, drug treatment, mental health and treatment program) | 116 |
| Participants with Substance Abuse focus | 35 |
| Participants with Psychiatric Disorder focus | 12 |
| Participants with Physical Health problems focus | 3 |
| Prison reform, restructuring and systems evaluation | 104 |
| Focus on domestic violence and Abuse | 2 |
| Post prison program evaluation | 25 |
| Prison Policy | 3 |
| Family Issues/Carers | 46 |
| Country Transition following conflict (South Africa Transition/ Russia transition/ Northern Ireland/ Columbia) | 5 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| In-prison violence | 4 |
| Employment rates | 2 |
| Non-criminal participants | 3 |
| Sex offenders | 1 |
| Participant Debt focus | 5 |
| Racial differences in re-entry | 7 |
| Pre-release anticipation, goals, hope | 3 |
| Transition into prison | 3 |
| Not peer reviewed | 29 |
| Learning Difficulties | 2 |
| Developmental Transition | 4 |
| Hostage taking in prison | 1 |

Duplicates 80

1 research article obtained by contacting researcher by email: Champion & Clare (2006)

Appendix B: Staff Information Sheet

Information for Staff

Study title: ‘Young People: The Experience of Transition from Custody to Community’

I am a Trainee Clinical Psychologist from Liverpool University. I am doing some research with young people who access the Youth Offending Service. I hope you might be able to suggest some young people who might want to participate. The following information describes how they would be involved.

This research aims to contribute to service development and clinical understanding of the young person’s experience as they transition from custody to community. I hope to interview young men aged 16-18 about their experience.

Before young people agree to take part in the study, I will discuss the study with them and ask them to sign a consent form to show that they have agreed to take part.

Young people can withdraw at any time without giving a reason and this will not impact on their engagement with the Youth Offending Service.

Taking Part: What Happens?

I hope to speak with 4-10 people in this study across three YOS in the North West. Taking part would mean the young person meeting with me on their own for 1 hour at a designated room within the YOS. If you would like to come with them, you are able to wait outside the interview room. I can arrange a time with them and you that is convenient.

To start the meeting, I would answer any questions the young person has about the study. If they then agreed to take part we will continue the interview.

The interview will be a chat guided by some questions I have developed.

What will be asked? I will ask questions such as “Describe to me what it’s been like for you leaving custody” or “Have you found anything that has helped you get through this time?”

Location: We will decide a time together to meet. Interviews will take place in the Youth Offending Service building, in a private room and will be recorded on audio tape recorder.

Benefit for Young Person:

Every young person who takes part will receive a £10 high street gift voucher as a “thank you” for helping out in the study. Individual travel expenses will also be paid.

Confidentiality

The information we talk about in interview is confidential unless the young person says something that suggests they are at risk of significant harm. If this happens I will discuss this

issue in supervision and inform the care-coordinator of my concern. Everything else will remain confidential. I will also inform the relevant authorities such as the police if the young person discloses any current or potential illegal activities.

The interview should not contain any questions that are likely to upset the young person. However, if they do become upset during interview, with their permission I could contact the staff team and tell them you are upset.

What happens with the information?

I will carefully go through all of the interviews to try and make sense of them. I will see if there are any common themes that link the interviews together. This study will be used to complete the research requirements for the Doctorate in Clinical Psychology I am studying. The information from the study might be used to write an article for a psychology journal.

How will data be stored?

The recorded interview will be transcribed by me or a secretary who has been trained to work with confidential information. No identifying information will be included in the typed interviews.

Once the transcripts have been typed I will destroy the tapes. XX will store the anonymised transcripts in a password protected USB pen in a locked draw. These will be kept for 5-10 years in keeping with XX guidelines.

Approval to carry out research:

Research from XX is looked at by an independent group called a Research Ethics Committee to protect your safety, rights, wellbeing and dignity. This study has also been given the go ahead by the team manager at XX.

Further Information:

You can contact XX or me for advice about taking part in this research. You can contact XX at: X

How do I suggest potential participants?

If there is a young person you think might like to take part in this research, please provide them with the young person information sheet and ask them to contact XX on the contact information provided on their information sheet. This allows them the freedom to make an informed choice about whether they would like to take part.

What if I have a problem with this research?

If you have any concerns about any aspect of this study, you can contact me and I will do my best to answer your questions. Contact me on XX

If you are still unhappy and want to complain formally, you can do this through the Research Governance Officer:
XX

If there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information, please ask me.
Yours sincerely,

XX

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Information for Young People

Study title: ‘Young People: The Experience of Transition from Custody to Community’

I am a Trainee Clinical Psychologist from XX University. I am doing some research with young people who access the Youth Offending Service. The following explains why I’m doing this and how you could be involved.

If you agree to take part in the study, I will ask you to sign a consent form to show that you have agreed to take part. You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason and this will not affect your work with the Youth Offending Service.

Why take part?

This research looks at how young people experience the transition from living in custody to living in the community. I will interview young people aged 16-18 to talk about their experience.

I hope that by giving you the chance to tell a professional person about what it’s like moving from life in prison, back in to the community (including the easy and the hard things) we might be able to influence the way services support you and other young people in the future.

What happens if you take part?

I hope to speak with 4-10 people in this study. Taking part would mean meeting with me for 1 hour. At the beginning, we would talk about the research. I would answer any questions you had about the study. If you then agreed to take part we will continue the interview.

The interview will be a chat guided by some questions I have developed to help us talk about your experience of prison, your experience of leaving prison and how you feel about the youth offending services you receive.

What will be asked? I will ask questions such as “Describe to me what it’s been like for you leaving custody” or “Have you found anything that has helped you get through this time?” I will not directly ask any personal questions you do not want to answer. You do not have to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with.

What should you say? You should just talk freely about your own personal experience. There are no right or wrong answers. I just want to hear how it’s been for you.

Where will it be? We will decide a time together to meet and interviews will take place in the Youth Offending Service building, in a private room and will be recorded on audio tape recorder. This is so that I can type out what you said and look for things that you say which are in common with things other young people say.

How will you benefit?

Everybody who takes part will receive a £10 high street gift voucher as a “thank you” for helping out in the study. Individual travel expenses will also be paid. You might also help influence how YOS works with young people leaving prison.

What happens if you change your mind?

You can withdraw from the study at any time and it will not affect the service you receive from Youth Offending Services.

Confidentiality

The information we talk about in interview is confidential unless you say something that suggests you or someone else is at risk of significant harm. If this happens I will discuss this issue in supervision and inform your Case Manager of my concern. Everything else will remain confidential. Like all professionals I would be under a duty of care to report any illegal activities to the relevant authorities such as your case manager or potentially the police.

The interview should not contain any questions that are likely to upset you. However, if you did become upset during interview, with your permission I could contact your Key Worker or Case Manager or someone who was important to you, to see how we can support you.

What happens with my information?

I will carefully go through all of the interviews to try and make sense of them. I will see if there are any common themes that link the interviews together. This study will be used to complete the research requirements for the Doctorate in Clinical Psychology I am studying. The information from the study might be used to write an article for a psychology journal. This would enable me to share what we’ve discovered (from talking to you and other young people), with other people like psychologists and service managers.

How will it be stored?

Our recorded interview will be typed up by myself or a secretary who has been trained to work with confidential information. No identifying information will be included in the typed interviews.

Once the transcripts have been typed I will destroy the tapes. XX will store the anonymised* (This means all the confidential information will be taken out) transcripts in a password protected USB pen in a locked draw. These will be kept for 5-10 years in keeping with XX guidelines.

Who has approved this study?

Research from XX University is looked at by an independent group called a Research Ethics Committee to protect your safety, rights, wellbeing and dignity. This study has also been given the go ahead by the Overall Service Manager team at XX Service.

Where can I get more information?

You can contact XX if you would like to take part in this research or talk to your case manager.

What if I have a problem with this research?

If you have any concerns about any aspect of this study, you can speak to XX or me and we will do our best to answer your questions. You can reach me on: XX

If you are still unhappy and want to complain formally, you can do this with support from XX

If there is anything that is not clear, or if you would like more information, please ask me.
Yours sincerely,

XX

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

Process of Transition:

1. Can you tell me what it has been like to move from prison to the community?
2. Can you describe any positive things about the move?
Prompt: What were the most important things to you about moving?
3. Can you describe any negative things about the move?
4. How did you prepare yourself for moving?
Prompt: What were you most often thinking about before you left prison?
5. What things influenced the preparation?

Developmental Transition:

6. Does being (age i.e. 16 yrs) affect how you managed in prison?
Prompt: How?

Preparation:

7. Can you tell me something about coping and leaving prison?
Prompt: What helps?

The Future:

8. How do you feel about the next 6 months? (follow this up with 1 year and then 5 years)
9. How do you feel about what's next for you?
Prompt: How far ahead do you look when you think about your life, have you got a picture of yourself at different times in your life in the future?
10. Is there anything else about the move you would like to add?
11. How have you found taking part in this interview? Do you have anything else you would like to share?

Debriefing Material:

- Researcher to inform participant about how the information recorded during interview will be used to help in the research. Explain it will be considered alongside other interview recordings and common themes from the interviews will be drawn together.
- Summarise what the participant has said during interview, emphasising the positive things about moving in to the community.
- Ask if there is anything in the interview which has made them feel upset or concerned. Ask about how they are feeling and respond during debrief as appropriate. Reiterate that they are free to talk to their care-coordinator about the interview experience at any time.
- Emphasise that their care-coordinator will be waiting for them outside the interview room if they feel they need further support.

Appendix E: Extract of a Transcript (exploratory comments & initial themes)

Participant 9: John

| Original Transcript | Line no. | Exploratory Comments / Paraphrase | Initial Themes |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Researcher: OK. Thank you for doing this – I really appreciate it | 4 | | |
| Participant: That's alright | 5 | | |
| Researcher: After about 5 minutes you'll forget that thing's there so don't worry about it, OK! Erm, OK. So just before I start on like proper questions, erm let me just try and think of something random to ask you. Err, so after leaving prison have you gone back to live where you were before? | 6 7 8 9 | | |
| Participant: Yeah, living with me Mum, yeah | 10 | Lives with mum | Living with mum Absent father |
| Researcher: Oh are you? OK. And is that far from here, have you come... | 11 | | |
| Participant: No, it's only round the corner like | 12 | Round corner | |
| Researcher: Is that...Is that handy for getting here in the morning? | 13 | | |
| Participant: Mmm | 14 | | |
| Researcher: OK, that's good. And how long have you been out of prison? | 15 | | |
| Participant: Err, three weeks | 16 | 3 weeks | |
| Researcher: Oh right OK so quite new. And was this like the first time you've been in or... | 17 | | |
| Participant: Nah, I've been in a few times before like | 18 | Been in a few times before | Been to prison a few times |
| Researcher: OK, so you're quite familiar with the process! Alright, OK, cool. Erm, when we do this interview you don't need to tell me – I mean you can, if you want, it's not going any further – but you don't need to tell me loads of details or names or anything like that. Erm, I'm not interested in what you've done or how it was or...alright? | 19 20 21 22 | | |
| Participant: Yeah | 23 | | |
| Researcher: Erm, but I might ask questions that sound really nosey | 24 | | |
| Participant: Yeah, yeah | 25 | | |
| Researcher: But erm just – you know – err, I'm not asking because I'm trying to trap you or be suspicious or whatever, OK? | 26 27 | | |
| Participant: Yeah yeah, I know | 28 | I know | |
| Researcher: OK. Alright. Err, right OK. Let's start from a little bit of the beginning then. So, when you left, three weeks ago, how was it? How was it leaving? What was that day like? | 29 30 | | |
| Participant: Well it was good. To be honest like you feel excited and that, you can't | 31 | Getting out was good, excited, can't | Getting out of prison is |

| | | | |
|---|----------------------|--|--|
| sleep the night before and that | 32 | sleep night before | good Feels exciting to be getting out of prison Prospect of release induces sleeplessness |
| Researcher: Can't you? | 33 | | |
| Participant: Nah, it's just...you're just excited about seeing everyone and that again aren't you and that? | 34 35 | Excited about seeing everyone | Excited to see everyone again post-release |
| Researcher: Uh-huh | 36 | | |
| Participant: But then like...dunno...when you get out, the first day is good like, and then it just goes back to normal really | 37 38 | BUT, when get out, first day is good but then goes back to normal | First day of release is good. Life goes back to normal (same as before release) |
| Researcher: Yeah | 39 | | |
| Participant: Because you know when you get out you've got your money and that, what you've saved up and then obviously you go out on the bender and that and see your mates and that. And the next morning you wake up and you've got nothing, it's just like 'tshhh' | 40 41 42 43 | When get out, got money, go on a bender with mates, next morning you've got nothing, it's like tshhh | When you get out you've got money. On release day, go drinking with mates Next morning you've got nothing. |
| Researcher: OK. Yeah. That sounds...OK. I'm going to unpick all that sort of stuff. So the night bef...How long were you in prison? | 44 45 | | |
| Participant: 6 months | 46 | 6 months | Length of sentence is 6 months |

Appendix F: Cluster table for each participant (Initial themes & Emerging themes)

Participant 1: Ben

| Transcript Reference | Initial Theme (from transcript) | Emerging Theme (for Cluster Table) |
|----------------------|--|--|
| 8, 96-97 | Prison reward systems contrast to being out | Prison and community rewards systems are different |
| 8, 96-97 | Prison reward systems are based on giving possessions | Prison reward system is based on the giving and taking away of possessions |
| 10, 130-137 | Hunger in prison day and night | Money means you can have enough food |
| 9, 109-118 | Experience of prison food was shocking- buy own. | |
| 10, 121-123 | Wealth displayed by possessions in prison | The importance of money in prison |
| 17, 212-216 | Money in prison provided from home. | Who provides money in prison |
| 18, 229-232 | Prison possessions go to peers at release | Possessions and displays of wealth in prison. |
| 33, 466 | Met by family for release | Getting home after release |
| 33, 461-464 | Release is a shock | Uncertainty/ unfamiliarity on the day of release |
| 32, 450-451 | Surprised to get out of prison. | |
| 40, 580-581 | Leaving prison unplanned | |
| 6, 69 | Minimising the experience | Minimising prison experience |
| 7, 82 | Minimising prison experience in relation to others experience (i.e. they got it worse) | |
| 2, 12-15 | Minimising / ignoring the restraints on freedom in prison | |
| 8, 94 | Minimising experience of deprivation | |
| 15, 193-195 | Getting used to prison reduces the awfulness of the reality | |
| 21, 279-281 | ?fear of screw | Social rules in prison |
| 44, 667 | Defend against ridicule | |
| 12, 151-154 | Moral code is different in prison | Wider society right & wrong |
| 12, 157 | Prison code is familiar | |
| 13, 162-164 | Cultural norms established in prison are maintained on out | |
| 13, 171-177 | Cultural norms in prison contrast to wider society norms | |
| 45, 676-682 | Show respect for self and others in prison | |

| | | |
|-------------|---|---|
| 1, 6-9 | Prison differs from societal/cultural representations | Going to prison is normal amongst peers in the community |
| 25, 346-349 | Prison normalised among peers | |
| 2, 22 | Peer familiarity facilitates entrance into prison | |
| 18, 237-239 | Most of the prison population are dangerous. | |
| 24, 331-333 | Knowledge of prison is passed through brother | Prison is talked about with peers in the community |
| 37, 535-556 | Emotional distance from peers | Lack of talking about prison with peers in the community |
| 38, 545-546 | Holds back offences from peers | |
| 24, 335-336 | Prison experience repeats through generations | Parents share the experience of reintegration from prison |
| 24, 335-336 | Prison experience repeats through generations | |
| 48, 730 | Family ties to crime. | |
| 46, 692-693 | License conditions are restrictive | |
| 25, 351 | Mum's reaction to prison, gutted | Family perception of going to prison |
| 24, 331-333 | Knowledge of prison is passed through brother | Siblings share experience of prison |
| 43, 644-651 | Effective social interaction | |
| 24, 340-341 | Shared experience of prison with brother | |
| 26, 353 | Prison experience is shared between brothers | |
| 25, 343-344 | Lack of communication between siblings about prison | |
| 25, 346-349 | Prison normalised among peers | Silencing of prison experience |
| 21, 284-286 | Family visits are recalled. | Visits are linked to rewards in prison |
| 21, 288-291 | Family is reunited on prison visit | Visits are a positive experience |
| 21, 284-286 | Family visits are recalled. | Missed visits |
| 21, 293-294 | Family doesn't visit as often as possible | |
| 38, 551-552 | Isolated when out, peers in prison | Letter writing to maintain connections |
| 38, 558 | Family write letters to you inside | |
| 38, 560-562 | Spending time on someone is important. | |
| 39, 564-565 | Making connections with others with letters | |
| 39, 564-565 | Making connections with others with letters | Letter writing for reflection on current life |
| 38, 560-562 | Spending time on someone is important. | |
| 23, 317 | Justice system prescribes living location after release | Living accommodation is prescribed |

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| 47, 726 | Lack of control of future post-release | Lack of physical space at home |
| 33, 468 | Father brings home | |
| 34, 486-491 | Tag preventing progression. | |
| 26, 356 | Separated from mother post-release | |
| 34, 474-483 | Tag restricts and is reminding of restriction | Resettlement in an unfamiliar location |
| 47, 719 | On the move again after release | |
| 34, 472 | Acceptance of father's new family | Preference of living at home/ prison |
| 15, 191 | Home/ prison life preference | |
| 42, 618 | Limited support from family post-release | Expectations/ demands from others after prison |
| 35, 497-501 | Expectation to earn money for family | |
| 35, 503-504 | Supporting mother financially | |
| 35, 508-509 | Providing for mother | |
| 35, 511-513 | Family pressure to re-offend, to provide. | |
| 36, 515-521 | Drug use within family is normal | |
| 36, 528-529 | Partners in crime with brother | |
| 36, 528-529 | Partners in crime with brother | |
| 50, 772-776 | Pressure of responsibility and fatherhood | Perception of self as a child |
| 28, 379-384 | Being young is a factor in moving towards positive change | |
| 47, 708-711 | Not good enough | Self relating to others |
| 4, 51-53 | Desire to be treated as an adult | Being older in prison is better |
| 4, 47 | Distancing self from childhood | |
| 26, 363-366 | Illegal activity prior to prison to make a living. | Reflection on life before prison |
| 29, 403-404 | Didn't fit in to education as young person | Reluctance to reflect while in prison. |
| 26, 363-366 | Illegal activity prior to prison to make a living. | Thought about reintegration while in prison. |
| 27, 377 | Trapped in his current life | |
| 23, 321 | Hope to return to life pre-sentence | Being comfortable in yourself |
| 47, 708-711 | Not good enough | |
| 32, 455-457 | Identity, getting a new identity post release. | A renewed self after prison |
| 17, 221-223 | Status is amazing | Importance of status/reputation |
| 40, 590-593 | Playing the system to achieve status | |

| | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| 27, 370-375 | High profile crime impacts identity | |
| 27, 370-375 | High profile crime impacts identity | |
| 11, 145-146 | Identity defined by offence in prison | |
| 6, 76-80 | Giving meaning to length of sentence. (i.e. Self not as bad as others) | Identity and index offence |
| 14, 179-181 | Avoid being alone in prison | |
| 43, 640-642 | Alone when first in prison | |
| 37, 540-543 | Loss of old friendships after prison | Being alone in prison |
| 15, 188 | Aloneness on the out | |
| 39, 574-577 | Torn between crime and going straight | |
| 36, 523-524 | Drugs support the family | Fending for self in the community |
| 48, 728 | Working towards becoming 'legit' | |
| 48, 728 | Working towards becoming 'legit' | |
| 49, 757-758 | Ideal world of having own things / independence | Stopping offending |
| 50, 763 | Unrealistic ideals | |
| 50, 765 | Start a fresh | |
| 29, 411-412 | College course provide structure and routine post release. | Hope to avoid crime/ going back to prison in the future |
| 28, 389 | Jail prepared me for college course | |
| 29, 411-412 | College course provide structure and routine post release. | |
| 39, 574-577 | Torn between crime and going straight | Unrealistic ideals for the future |
| 39, 574-577 | Torn between crime and going straight | |
| 47, 726 | Lack of control of future post-release | |
| 44, 662-663 | People can't change | Education provides activity after release |
| 16, 203-204 | Substance use helps cope with loneliness | |
| 36, 515-521 | Drug use within family is normal | |
| 36, 515-521 | Drug use within family is normal | College course post release are not matched to college courses in prison |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | Boredom after release |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | Lack of plans/ uncertainty about the future |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | People around you don't change in the community |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | Drugs are used in the community |
| | | |
| | | |

| | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| 15, 197-200 | Effects of withdrawal from drugs in prison. | Experience of drugs in prison |
| 11, 148-149 | Index offence affects integration in prison | Social integration according to index offence |
| 12, 151-154 | Moral code is different in prison | |
| 37, 540-543 | Loss of old friendships after prison | Friendships made in prison are maintained on the out |
| 38, 551-552 | Isolated when out, peers in prison | Physical closeness to peers in the community |
| 46, 699-704 | Judged negatively by others post-release | Criminal record prevents moving on |
| 46, 699-704 | Judged negatively by others post-release | |
| 49, 743-752 | Conditions stop him moving on | |
| 49, 743-752 | Conditions stop him moving on | |
| 48, 737-740 | Criminal record makes it hard to move forward | |
| 42, 628-631 | Lack of thought about how prison affects adult life. | No thought about impact of criminal record |
| 42, 628-631 | Lack of thought about how prison affects adult life. | |
| 34, 474-483 | Tag restricts and is reminding of restriction | Tag and License conditions see as restrictive. |
| 34, 486-491 | Tag preventing progression. | |
| 41, 601-602 | Tag prevents moving on | |
| 46, 692-693 | License conditions are restrictive | |
| 46, 697 | License conditions prevent progression | |
| 49, 743-752 | Conditions stop him moving on | |
| 41, 609-611 | Tag restriction provides protection | Tag and License enforces change behaviour |
| 41, 609-611 | Tag restriction provides protection | |
| 41, 609-611 | Tag restriction provides protection | Positive Attitude/feelings to Tag restrictions |
| 18, 242-243 | Perception of victimisation by screws | Negative perception of screws |
| 19, 245-248 | Dislike of screws communicated through violence | |
| 20, 261-262 | Idealising vs. Rejecting of screws | |
| 20, 272-275 | Screw uses prison to take out anger on kids | |
| 21, 279-281 | ?fear of screw | |
| 22, 298-301 | Deprived of visits by screw | |
| 20, 264-266 | Rapport with screws is positive | Positive perception of screws |

| | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| 20, 268 | Talking with screws provides comfort | |
| 30, 414 | Talking to YOT staff | Positive rapport with YOT |
| 30, 416-419 | Listening/ Understanding, rapport influences engagement with YOT staff | |
| 28, 393-395 | after release, services provide career opportunity | YOT provide activities in the community |
| 29, 397 | College provide good working experiences post-release | College provides activities |
| 19, 254-257 | Punishment of distress in prison | Communicating distress in prison |
| 19, 250-251 | Distress communicated by damaging prison property | |
| 14, 183-185 | Eliciting support from peers | Talking and listening in prison |
| 44, 658-660 | Peers provide comfort in prison | Peers provide emotional support in prison |
| 14, 183-185 | Eliciting support from peers | |
| 18, 237-239 | Most of the prison population are dangerous. | Peers in prison are dangerous |
| 6, 72-74 | Fear of other inmates in prison | |
| 39, 569-572 | Accepted, inclusion, | Being sociable helps integration in prison |
| 43, 640-642 | Alone when first in prison | |
| 43, 644-651 | Effective social interaction | |

Appendix G: A 'cluster theme' table

Sub-ordinate theme: Adapting to life in prison

Codes: Page number, line number (e.g. page 8, line 96-97).

| Emerging Theme | P1 | P2 | P3 | P4 | P5 | P6 | P7 | P8 | P9 | P10 |
|--|----------|-------------|--|----|---------|---|--------|---------|--|---|
| Prison and community rewards systems are different | 8, 96-97 | | | | | | | | | |
| Prison reward system is based on the giving and taking away of possessions | 8, 96-97 | | | | | 9, 176-179 12, 234 | 8, 2-3 | 15, 303 | | 23, 408-409 23, 411-412 |
| Changes in social norms in/ out of prison | | | 19, 624 19, 620 19, 618 18, 601 19, 616 18, 612 | | 43, 488 | | | 13, 265 | 18, 304 17, 291-292 34, 644-645 | 27, 498 |
| Prison possessions in release from prison | | | 6, 183 6, 181 6, 176-177 | | | 8, 151-152 23, 456 | | 31, 637 | | |
| Positive impact of rewards in prison | | | | | | 13, 265 13, 261 13, 258 | | | | |
| Rewards in prison are linked to behaviour | | 12, 237-238 | | | | 21, 417-418 7, 137 10, 205-206 7, 139 9, 187 9, 173 9, 185 10, 191 9, 170-171 9, 181 10, 195 10, 193 9, 176-179 12, 239 | | | 15, 248-251 8, 127-128 14, 235-236 9, 143 8, 127-128 | 26, 466 25, 435-436 25, 443 25, 445-446 26, 477 25, 452 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|-------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| Interpersonal relationships in prison affect rewards | | | | | | | | | 15, 244-246 15, 244-246 14, 239-240 14, 232-233 14, 227-230 14, 227-230 | 25, 448 23, 411-412 23, 408-409 |
| Being 'good' in prison is rewarded | | | | | | 9, 183 11, 214-215 11, 214-215 11, 208 | | | | 26, 459-462 26, 470 |
| Telly / cd player is a reward in prison | | | 8, 233-235 7, 231 7, 227 | | 63, 691 63, 693 63, 688 | | 35, 418 34, 412 35, 414 | | | |
| Money means you can have enough food | 9, 109-118 10, 130-137 | | | | | | 13, 155 | | | |
| The importance of money in prison | 10, 121-123 9, 109-118 | | 25, 832 24, 825 | | | | 14, 174 14, 172 | | 6, 91-92 6, 87 6, 87 | |
| The lack of importance of money in prison | | | | | | | | | 32, 590-591 32, 588 32, 586 31, 565 - 567 31, 565 - 567 31, 565 - 567 | |
| Who provides money in prison | 17, 212-216 | | | | | | 13, 162 13, 160 14, 169 13, 167 | | 32, 579 32, 574-575 32, 595-596 6, 87-89 | 21, 376 21, 374 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|-------------------------------|--|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | 6, 87-89 | |
| Currency in prison | | | 17, 554 17, 547- 548 6, 197-198 | 22, 325 22, 323 23, 335 23, 343 23, 339 | 37, 428 | 39, 823 33, 688 | 46, 669 | | 32, 583- 584 | |
| Possessions and displays of wealth in prison. | | | | | | 23, 454 34, 702 34, 700 | 14, 177 | | 33, 613- 615 33, 613-615 33, 602 33, 604- 607 33, 604-607 | 29, 540 29, 536- 537 29, 536-537 |
| Passing on possessions prior to release | | | | 22, 314 | 37, 426 37, 424 36, 416 36, 414 37, 422 | 40, 832- 833 39, 830 39, 827-828 39, 815- 816 39, 807 39, 809 | 45, 652 46, 656 45, 646 | | 4, 63 3, 60-61 | |
| The change in importance of possessions prior to release | | | 23, 762 | 22, 316 | 38, 430 | | 71, 1209 46, 658 | | 50, 947 50, 945 50, 943 50, 941 | 28, 507 |
| The importance of money post release | | | | | 77, 832 31, 352 76, 830 31, 352 | | | | 30, 559- 561 51, 961 | |
| Money and employment post release | | | 27, 903 27, 898- 899 | | 76, 824 76, 824 76, 822 | 59, 1256 59, 1267 | | 49, 999 49, 997 45, 918 45, 920 | 53, 1003 45, 842- 844 | 38, 707- 708 |

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|----------------------|--|--|-------------|--|-------------|--|--|--|-------------|--|
| Crime and money | | | 22, 750-754 | | 31, 354-355 | 32, 662 32, 657 32, 650 32, 654 31, 640 31, 636 31, 636 31, 627 31, 625 30, 622 | | | 51, 963-965 | |
| Money and friendship | | | | | | 44, 936 44, 938 44, 933-934 44, 931 45, 942-943 | | | | |

Appendix H: Master Table of Themes for the Group

Superordinate theme 1: A beginning and ending to prison

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|--|--|
| Subordinate theme: The Induction to Prison | Emerging Theme |
| | Academic ability is assessed |
| | Admission process involves moving wings |
| | Induction is explained |
| Subordinate theme: Adapting to life in prison | Emerging Theme |
| | Prison and community rewards systems are different |
| | Prison reward system is based on the giving and taking away of possessions |
| | Changes in social norms in/ out of prison |
| | Prison possessions in release from prison |
| | Positive impact of rewards in prison |
| | Rewards in prison are linked to behaviour |
| | Interpersonal relationships in prison affect rewards |
| | Being 'good' in prison is rewarded |
| | Telly / cd player is a reward in prison |
| | Money means you can have enough food |
| | The importance of money in prison |
| | The lack of importance of money in prison |
| | Who provides money in prison |
| | Currency in prison |
| | Possessions and displays of wealth in prison. |
| | Passing on possessions prior to release |
| | The change in importance of possessions prior to release |
| | The importance of money post release |
| | Money and employment post release |
| | Crime and money |
| | Money and friendship |
| Subordinate theme: The Shock of Release | Emerging Theme |
| | Uncertainty of the release date |
| | Certainty of release date |
| | Imagining events post release |
| | Getting home after release |
| | The Process of release |
| | Release day activities |
| | Valuing freedom after release |
| | Positive feelings about release |
| | Negative Feelings about release |
| | Indifference post release |
| | Support during and after release |
| | Experience of others post release |
| | Uncertainty/ unfamiliarity on the day of release |

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| Subordinate theme: Assimilating the prison experience | Emerging Theme |
| | Prison is not that bad |
| | Expectations of release are not met |
| | Preparation for exit from prison |
| | Minimising prison experience |
| | Social rules in prison |
| | Wider society right & wrong |
| | Self reliance to learn social norms |
| | Boundaries |
| | Missing aspects of prison. |

Superordinate theme 2: Family and friendship systems of offending

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|--|---|
| Subordinate theme: Prison is normalised in families and friendships | Emerging Theme |
| | Going to prison is normal amongst peers in the community |
| | Prison is talked about with peers in the community |
| | Lack of talking about prison with peers in the community |
| | Parents share the experience of reintegration from prison |
| | Family perception of going to prison |
| | Absent parents |
| | Siblings share experience of prison |
| | Silencing of prison experience |
| Subordinate theme: Prison disrupts family and friendships | Emerging Theme |
| | No celebrations were missed while in prison |
| | Celebrations in the community were missed while in prison |
| | People remember your birthday in prison |
| | Celebrations are just like any other day in prison |
| | Motivation to be in the community for celebrations |
| | Celebrations are postponed until release |
| | Visits are linked to rewards in prison |
| | Visits maintain connections |
| | Visits make you sad |
| | Visits are a positive experience |
| | Practical things are discussed on visits |
| | Missed visits |
| | People who visit |
| | Letter writing to maintain connections |
| | Letter writing for reflection on current life |
| | Meaning of receiving post in prison |
| | Process of letter writing |
| | Other people's view of letter writing |
| | Living accommodation is prescribed |
| | Lack of physical space at home |
| | Resettlement in an unfamiliar location |
| | Going 'home' after release |
| | Preference of living at home/ prison |

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| Sub-ordinate theme: Emotional distance in family and friendships | Emerging Theme |
| | Family are supportive with reintegration to the family |
| | Emotional closeness of siblings |
| | Emotional and physical distance between siblings |
| | Emotional distance between self and step parents |
| | Lack of talking & listening about the prison experience with the family during reintegration |
| | Loss of trust and responsibility since release |
| | Increase of trust and responsibility during reintegration |
| | Thoughts about the family unit at reintegration |
| | Father's role in reintegration |
| | Mother's role in reintegration |
| | Role of sibling relationships and reintegration |
| | Expectations/ demands from others after prison |
| | Physical distance from peers in the community |
| | Talking about index offence with peers |

Superordinate theme 3: A new 'me' in the community

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| Subordinate theme: Growing up in prison | Emerging Theme |
| | Loss of childhood in prison |
| | Perception of self as a child |
| | Child self-worth |
| | Childhood as a factor in change |
| | Self relating to others |
| | Being younger in prison is better |
| | Being older in prison is better |
| | Reflection on life before prison |
| | Reluctance to reflect while in prison. |
| | Prison makes you think |
| | Thought about reintegration while in prison. |
| | Self as the same as other inmates |
| Subordinate theme: Pro-social change | Emerging Theme |
| | Being comfortable in yourself |
| | A renewed self after prison |
| | Feeling more chilled post release |
| | Describing self is hard/ limited |
| | Reflection on life after prison |
| | Worries while in prison. |
| | Benefits to having time to think in prison |
| | Importance of status/reputation |
| Subordinate theme: Integrating with the community | Emerging Theme |
| | Being alone |
| | Fending for self in the community |
| | Being alone is good |

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| | Dislike feeling alone |
| | Getting on with it |
| | Keeping head down |
| | Forget about prison |
| | Doing practical tasks |

Superordinate theme 4: Life on the out

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| Subordinate theme: The optimism of release | Emerging Theme |
| | Optimism about life after release |
| | Expectations for life after prison |
| | Expectations for life after release |
| | Guilt and shame about offence |
| | Stopping offending |
| | Hope to avoid crime/ going back to prison in the future |
| | Individual responsibility for change after release |
| | Education is an opportunity for improvement post-release |
| | Education is a priority |
| | Plans for college |
| | Uncertainty about college course |
| | Desire to start college in the future |
| | Apprenticeship seems hopeful after release |
| | Apprenticeship is uncertain/ unknown post release |
| | Ideas for employment after release |
| | Employment as a priority |
| | Desire for money/ financial gain in the future |
| | Unrealistic ideals for the future |
| | Future goals are positive |
| | Desire for improvement of life in the future |
| | Desire for family in the future |
| | Desire to move house/ move away |
| | Feelings about future are positive |
| Subordinate theme: Community stands still | Emerging Theme |
| | Apprenticeship is certain after release |
| | Education provides activity after release |
| | Working every day after release |
| | Induction to employment after release |
| | Meaning of employment and implications for reintegration |
| | Reliance on others to facilitate employment after release |
| | Education stops after release |
| | College course post release are not matched to college courses in prison |
| | Boredom after release |
| | Daily activity before prison |
| | Lack of plans/ uncertainty about the future |
| | Nothing changes in the environment in the community |
| | People around you don't change in the community |

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| | Desire for the environment to have changed in the community |
| Subordinate theme: Offence focussed interactions | Emerging Theme |
| | Mates provide activity after release |
| | Daily routine after release is empty |
| | Girlfriend provides social activity after release |
| | Role of girlfriend in reintegration |
| | Drugs are used in the community |
| | Abstinence in the community |
| | Experience of drugs in prison |
| | Introduced to drugs in prison, use in the community |
| | Drugs as currency in prison |
| | Abstinence in prison from Drugs |
| | Alcohol consumption is social/acceptable |
| | Crime and drinking |
| | Drinking with peers |
| | Perception of acceptable/ unacceptable crime |
| | Social integration according to index offence |
| | Mates make your behaviour worse |
| | Physical proximity to others in prison encourages emotional closeness in the community |
| | Maintaining peer relationships in prison makes re-integration easier |
| | Friendships made in prison are maintained on the out |
| | Methods to maintain friendships made in prison |
| | Physical closeness to peers in the community |
| | Emotional closeness to peers in the community |
| | Longstanding history with peers makes reintegration easier |
| | Hard to move on from old peers after release |
| | Peers have moved on after release. |
| | Peer relationships in the community do change after release |
| | Avoiding old peers after release |
| | Familiarity with prison |
| | Peer relationships in the community don't change |
| | Friendships made in prison diminish on the out |
| | Peers linked to college in the community |
| | Familiarity with prison makes it easier to go back |

Superordinate theme 5: Justice System supporting and enforcing change

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| Subordinate theme: Criminal record maintains persecution | Emerging Theme |
| | Criminal record prevents moving on |
| | Criminal record has no impact |
| | Criminal record makes you institutionalised |
| | No thought about impact of criminal record |
| | Criminal record disrupts life |
| | Police victimise you with criminal record |
| Subordinate theme: | Emerging Theme |

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| Enforcing behaviour change | Tag and License conditions see as restrictive. |
| | Tag and License enforces change behaviour |
| | Tag fails to change behaviour |
| | Tag prevents social interaction |
| | Negative Attitudes/ Feeling about License/ conditions and Tag |
| | Positive Attitude/feelings to Tag restrictions |
| | Practical things about the Tag and License conditions are remembered |
| | Perceived deterrents to reoffending |
| Subordinate theme: Nurturing professional relationships | Emerging Theme |
| | Negative perception of screws |
| | Positive perception of screws |
| | Perception of teachers in prison |
| | Positive rapport with YOT |
| | YOT facilitating co- offender relationships |
| | Negative rapport with YOT |
| | Limited interaction or lack of continuity with YOT |
| | YOT provide activities in the community |
| | College provides activities |